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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The Contrast

HERR HITLER'S peace feeler—if it deserves the name—was singularly maladroit. It was the customary farrago of threats, scarcely calculated to appeal to the British people: of a distortion of recent history, as ludicrous as it was entirely shameless: and of thoroughly empty professions of good will. He would, no doubt, be glad to have peace on his own terms but, as Lord Halifax pointedly remarked, "there was in his speech no suggestion that peace must be based on justice, no word of recognition that the other nations of Europe had any right to self-determination, the principle which he has so often invoked for Germans. His only appeal was to the base instinct of fear, and his only arguments were threats." This broadcast of the Foreign Secretary on July 22nd was more than a general reply to Hitler's rhetoric: it indicated clearly the difference in spirit and ideals on either side. On the one hand, force is exalted as the final test and rule, "old-fashioned respect for the pledged word" is cast aside along with any pretence of equality before the law, bad faith, cruelty and crimes are justified wherever they are to the Nazi interest. That, urged Lord Halifax, "is the fundamental challenge of Antichrist." On the other hand, the peoples of the Commonwealth, and with them all who still value truth and justice and freedom, stand for a world of "free men, not slaves; free nations, not German vassals; a community of nations, freely co-operating for the good of all": these are "the pillars of the new and better order that the British people wish to see." General Smuts, in a broadcast on the previous evening, had emphasized the same ideas. "We envisage," he asserted, "a free Europe, free for individual and for nation, free in the sense of giving full scope for personal and national self-development and self-perfection, each according to his own individual lines. In that fundamental sense we continue on the historic trail of human progress. . . . As between man and man there shall be social justice; as between nation and

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nation there shall be the rule of law, the absence of force and violence, and the maintenance of peace. In such an international society there will be no place for self-appointed leaders and Führers. He who will be master shall be servant. Our aim and motto will be : A nation of free men and women. An international society of free nations." In a speech last year, President Roosevelt claimed that 90 per cent. of mankind were in agreement about the sort of world they desired to live in : we can safely say that it is the world, not of Hitler, but of Halifax and Smuts. Striking, indeed, was the conclusion of the Foreign Secretary's address : its accents were those of a convinced Christian facing an anti-Christian menace. God, he declared, will give to those who humbly ask, the spirit that no dangers can disturb. "The Christian message to the world brings peace in time of war ; peace where we most need it ; peace of soul. It is that same Christian message which makes the Giver, who is God, the best friend with whom a man can share life or death. . . . There is one thing we can all do, soldiers, sailors, airmen, civilians, men, women and children, which may be much more powerful than we know. And this is to pray."

American Opinion

THE nomination of President Roosevelt for a third term of office is a sure sign that there will be no change in American foreign policy except in the direction of greater assistance to Great Britain. More and more is public opinion in the United States persuaded that this is no ordinary conflict, but a vital struggle upon which depends freedom or misery for the whole world. "A slave Europe is a poor foundation for a free world," was the terse phrase of the Australian Prime Minister : with this the United States are in general and generous agreement. On one or two occasions we have had to express regret that certain American Catholic journals seemed slow or loath to recognize the fundamental issues. *The Church Times* (July 19th) lets us see that Catholic papers are not the only offenders. The worst of all, it contends, is the Protestant *Christian Century*, whose editor, it argues, "should long before this have received the Iron Cross which he has so well earned." In its number for June 26th it declared that Hitler had destroyed the Capitalistic control of the Reich and that England was "all but helpless."

A week later, returning to the argument, it stated that Britain is continuing the fight in the hope either that Germany will crack or that America will come in, adding that both were quite impossible. The real religious position was well put to Americans in a radio talk from the Vatican Station (June 28th) by an American speaker. There are many Americans, he insisted, who must realize that "the conflict which, in September last, they called a squabble between two neighbours who had best be left alone in their blood, was, and is in truth, a family tragedy which concerns us intimately and urgently." It is clear, the speaker continued, that "we have been allowing our unreasoned fear of what we call entangling alliances to obscure an obvious duty of charity towards the defenders of our own cause, which the Pope has called the cause of universal morality. The conscience of the isolationist to-day is ill at ease. He is faced with the inevitable consequences of his selfishness, and is visibly afraid that his eleventh-hour offer of help to an afflicted European branch of his family has come too late even to save himself. It has taken the agony of small nations to remind him of his Christian duty to mankind. No time must be lost in sterile lamentations, or in superfluous discussions of why the Pope was right and the liberals wrong. The problem of international solidarity or international charity calls for immediate and vigorous action: its evasion or solution will write the history of America and Europe for the next generation."

American Problems

THE Pan-American Conference, now in session at Havana, is primarily concerned with economic questions. This was evident from the four points for a future programme in which Mr. Cordell Hull proposed that all American countries should co-operate. But, obviously, the wider problem of mutual defence looms large, and this problem is by no means as simple as it might appear to an observer from Europe. In the first place, German and Italian minorities exist in many South American States, though it is claimed that the Italians are not noticeably pro-Fascist. There is, also, an undercurrent of distrust of the United States and the fear of what has been termed "dollar diplomacy," and "Yankee imperialism." South Americans do not easily forget that, since 1868, no European army has

invaded their territories for purposes of conquest, whereas the United States have employed force against Cuba, Nicaragua, Colombia, Mexico, Haiti, and Santo Domingo. Throughout the Latin countries there is no general agreement as to the form of government: indeed, some of the most stable and progressive Governments in South America have been dictatorships. "Among the Latin nations," writes a competent American authority (*America*, July 6th), "there are serious ideological and political cleavages. At either extremity of the Continent, there is a Latin nation gone Red. Four others are so completely under the thumb of the Department of State as to be puppets. Four have strong Rightist Governments, highly centralized, that dislike the 'Good Neighbour' policy intensely." The situation is still further complicated by the marked difference between the general attitude of the United States and that of most of the Latin-American countries to the Spanish war: the States were largely pro-Republican, the Latin countries predominantly pro-Franco. Indeed, Spanish prestige has increased in South America, which is becoming more conscious of its own Spanish affinities and culture. The influence of Spain upon the Spanish New World may soon be a factor seriously to be reckoned with. Finally, the menace of Communism has to be considered. The Inter-American Conference on Democracy, which gathered in Montevideo in January, 1939, was attended by Communists from the Americas and Moscow. It openly made plans to unite the Communist forces throughout the Americas to destroy, one by one, the conservative Governments until all America should be coloured Red. In spite of these difficulties, however, there are solid reasons for believing that the South American States, if tactfully handled, will co-operate vigorously with the United States to withstand any serious Nazi aggression.

Whitewashing the Soviets

HISTORY is familiar with the theory of the Divine Right of kings. Certain newspapers appear to be reviving the theory in a novel and pernicious form. It becomes now a Divine Right of the Soviets. According to these optimistic journals, Stalin, Molotov and Co., can do no wrong. Their savage record of aggression throughout the war is conveniently excused or justified. The stab in Poland's back—

as dirty a dagger-thrust as ever Italy aimed at France—the Finnish invasion, the bullying of the smaller Baltic States, the seizure of Bessarabia and Bukovina—all these events have been mysteriously woven into an anti-Nazi epic. It only shows, we are naïvely informed, how Russian interests are marching with our own. What it really shows is, of course, the strange manner in which men can pick and choose the crimes they condone and condemn. Let us be honest and recognize aggression, wherever it occurs, for what it is. The fact that we are unable to prevent or oppose it, makes not the smallest difference to its character: still less does the impious hope that some day or other it may turn to our advantage. Consequently, we were surprised to see with what apparent smoothness *The Times* (July 22nd) passed over the faked elections in the three Baltic States: Mr. Sumner Welles was far more explicit and outspoken. We were just as surprised to read (*Times*, June 29th) that, though the Soviet method of annexing Bessarabia was “certainly open to criticism,” it had to be admitted that Rumanian Governments have steadily refused to enter into any negotiations for territorial revision for twenty years. Surely the Nazis have used this precise argument to justify their attack on Poland. To employ it now in Russia’s favour is a dangerous expedient. From the beginning of the war the attitude of the Soviets has been perfectly clear: it is anti-British and pro-Nazi and, for all its experience of duplicity, the Soviet Press has never attempted to disguise this fact. Germany invaded Poland because it was assured beforehand of the Soviet’s collaboration in partitioning that ill-used country: it was prepared to face war in the West on account of the Soviet guarantee of supplies in its rear: the occupation of Bessarabia was part of an arrangement which left the remainder of Rumania in the German sphere of influence: and, finally, Turkey was restrained by Soviet pressure, from coming to Britain’s assistance in the Mediterranean. In face of such facts it is futile to pretend that the Soviets have any sympathy with Britain’s cause. They may, it is true, quarrel with their Nazi associates, for the proverbial honour among thieves is rarely a lasting bond. But, if they do so, it will be in their own interests and out of no love for democracy and freedom, notions for which they entertain not the slightest respect: and, since those interests include the spread of world-revolution, it is abundantly evident how little any Christian country has to hope from them.

More Whitewash?

TO return again to this question. On July 25th *The Times* ventured to comment at last on the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic States. After mentioning that these States had enjoyed "a full measure of the traditional British sympathy for small nations," it went on to offer them the chilly comfort that, after all, their experience of independence had not been wholly lost. "Literally and metaphorically, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have 'put themselves on the map.' " Cold comfort, indeed, now that the Soviets have proceeded to wipe them off it. Actually, to take one of the three cases, Lithuania has been "on the map" for centuries. It was an independent Grand Duchy more than 600 years ago, and later became associated with Poland through the marriage, in 1386, of the Lithuanian Grand Duke with the Polish Queen. In the three partitions of the late eighteenth century its people had to share the unfortunate lot of the Poles, and their culture and religion (75 per cent. of the Lithuanians are Catholic) were savagely persecuted under the Russian occupation. It did not require the short span of twenty post-War years to give Lithuania a geographical significance and a name. The same leader goes on to suggest that the case of these three countries "is on a widely different footing from that of Finland." Frankly, we fail to see this, except for the one obvious fact that the Finns resisted, whereas these peoples could not do so. Finland lost its independence more than two centuries before Lithuania, and regained it at the same time. What appears more evident is that the attitude of the English Press towards Soviet aggression is on a somewhat "different footing" from that which obtained during the Finnish war. Possibly we are growing more callous towards aggression, there has been so much of it. Or can we detect even here the dangerous tendency to soft-pedal Soviet iniquity? *The Times* notes with appreciation the growth in these Baltic countries of a strong tradition of peasant ownership and co-operative marketing, presumably on the Scandinavian and Finnish model. It adds that in Estonia and Latvia "the standard of living and the level of education are far higher than among the peasants on whom collectivization has been imposed in other parts of the Soviet Union"—surely a severe condemnation of the Soviet system which, for all the resources of its territories, cannot

achieve the same results as these tiny Powers. Finally, we read in this leader that, had these countries been given a free choice and not, in fact, been handed over by the Nazis as part of the Soviet *Lebensraum*, they would have preferred incorporation in Russia to German protection. This is a bold statement and is highly questionable. These people have no delusion about the character of such German protection, but they remember that it was the Germans who, doubtless for reasons of their own, gave them an independent existence; their origin is to be sought in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and Versailles did little more than ratify their position. Indeed, it is probable that, were the drastic alternative set before them, the Baltic and Balkan countries, with the one exception of Bulgaria, would choose the deep sea of the Nazi-Fascist Axis in preference to the Communist devil.

The Pétain Government

IT is quite easy to make jokes about Vichy and its suitability for the octogenarian Pétain and his apparently ramshackle administration. But is it fair? And is it wise? After all, Pétain has, in his time, served France with great distinction, and he still commands the respect of Frenchmen. He has made a grave mistake; he has embarrassed—if you like, betrayed—an ally; his age and his known tendency towards defeatism should have disqualified him for the position he now holds—this is all true. But we must remember that news from France has to be treated with considerable reserve, since it is either Nazi-inspired, or put about by international agencies, which are not always trustworthy. To us, for example, it seems absurd to speak of Pétain's Government as Fascist. Where, for instance, is the Fascist party behind it? Actually, the old Marshal is facing a desperate situation: and its desperate nature is not alleviated by the jibes of British journalists that he is very largely responsible for it. It would be far truer to say—this thought is developed in a subsequent article—that he is there to bring some order out of the chaos for which others are to blame. Supplies have to be provided, refugees catered for and re-settled, a demoralized and resentful people must be brought back to some semblance of normal living. He has probably no illusions that any settlement of his will be more than temporary, and is equally free from any illusion that the Germans intend to assist him

in this task of reconstruction. Whatever be our verdict on his action—and we have a perfect right to consider it wrong and ill-advised—we shall not help France in her hour of tragedy and disaster by acrid abuse and inflamed comment. The French have not been transformed into our enemies overnight, we need not worry ourselves that they will be easy or willing victims of Nazi propaganda. Let us beware of giving the Nazis the most effective propaganda they could have, namely, the bitter tone and censure of our own Press.

Syria

THE collapse of France has presented some curious problems in North Africa and the Near East. In Syria, for example, although General Mittelhauser has been recalled, there remains a French and native army of more than 100,000 men. Reports suggest that a considerable number of its officers have crossed to Palestine and Egypt to take service in the British forces. Syria, with Lebanon—that is the area under French mandate—has a certain importance in French history: French influence there has always been strong, there are many old French castles in Syria, and France has been the traditional protector of the Christians of the Levant. French missions and schools played a large part in education, and many young Syrians studied in France. Actually, the French mandate, since it came into force in 1923, has had a stormy history. The Emir Feisal had been proclaimed King of Syria in 1920 by a Syrian Nationalist Congress, and these same nationalists have normally objected to the separation of Lebanon and Palestine from Syria. The population is a mixed one, both in race and in religion. In the Lebanon the Christian Maronites are the principal section, numbering some 29 per cent.: in Syria proper the Moslem Sunnites form the largest group, and there are smaller groups of Greek and Armenian Orthodox and Greek, Syrian and Armenian Catholics. Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese treaties were arranged in 1936, but, for various reasons, they had not been ratified in Paris at the outbreak of war. In spite, however, of German and Italian radio propaganda, these regions remained strongly pro-Ally: Mussolini's self-girding with the sword of Islam made little impression. After the signature of the French armistice M. Puaux, the High Commissioner for Syria, broadcast a statement that the French would not aban-

don their position in the Levant. On July 1st the British Foreign Office declared that they could not allow Syria or the Lebanon to be occupied by any hostile Power or to be used for attacks upon those countries in the Middle East which Britain is pledged to defend. The Foreign Minister of Iraq, after visits to Angora and Damascus, stated, on July 5th, that both Turkey and Iraq considered that Syria should be for the Syrians and be granted complete independence: he added that he had informed both the French High Commissioner and the Syrian leaders of this joint opinion.

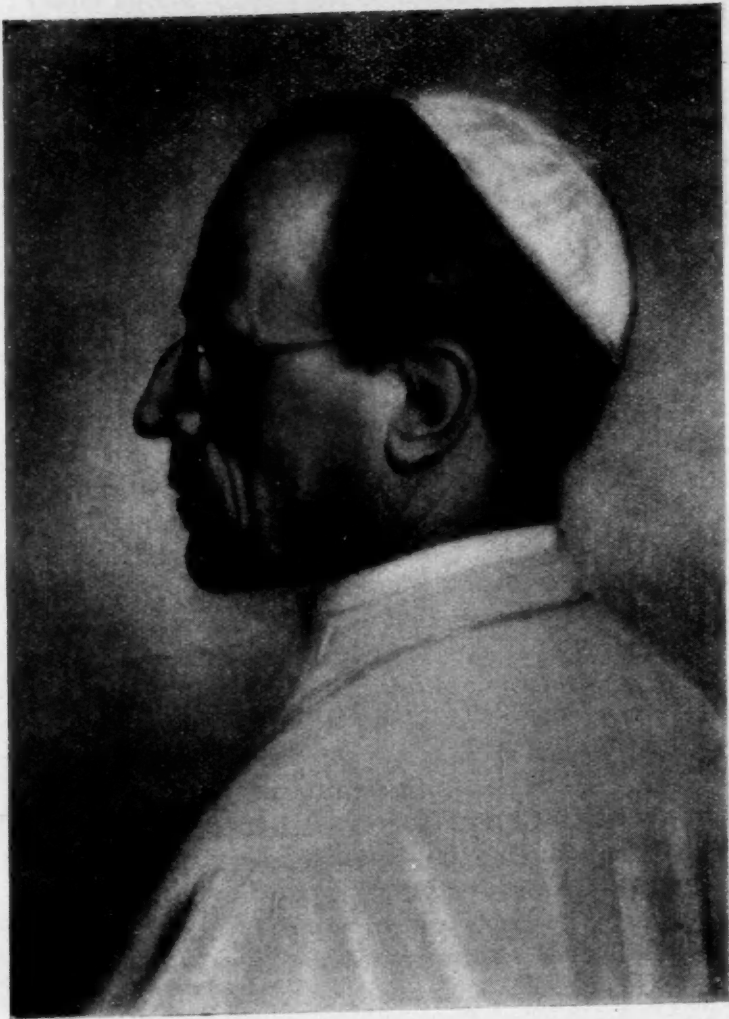
Books for the Troops

A WORTHY war-time charity is that of the "Catholic Libraries for H.M. Forces." As its name suggests, its purpose is to provide Catholic books for the Navy, Army and the Air Force. Inaugurated in October, 1939, under the patronage of Bishop Dey, it has made a selected list of books and dispatched thousands of these books to troops, both at home and overseas. Naturally, whatever was sent to France and Belgium has been lost. But there are, at the moment, 40 centres in England where libraries have been established under the supervision of Catholic chaplains. The object is to supply sound and readable Catholic books to strengthen and deepen among serving Catholics the knowledge of their religion, to counteract the evil influence of other literature, and even to spread the Faith among inquirers. The terms "Catholic" and "books" are to be taken in a very wide sense: the first, to include all sound, encouraging and helpful literature; the second, to extend as well to magazines, pamphlets and newspapers. The object is a most deserving one: it is a human and Christian charity towards those who are actively engaged in the defence of this country and its ideals. Contributions of money will be gratefully received by the Hon. Treasurer, Miss K. Fell, Holdfast, Haslemere, Surrey. Parcels of books, old and new, should be sent c/o the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, Carlisle Place, London, S.W.1, who have kindly placed at the disposal of the Libraries' committee a large room for receiving, storing and dispatching books. All books will be thankfully accepted and forwarded, in appropriate selections, to the respective library centres. A special plea is here added for Polish and French books, wherever these may be available, for the use of the Allied forces, now under arms or in training in England. "The

books have been much appreciated," "the men are enthusiastic about them," "the Libraries' gift is a tremendous boon to us"—these are a few of the chaplains' words of thanks. Other letters contain praise for the work of the selection committee in such terms as the following: "they were a perfect selection" and "the selection is an admirable one and combines instruction, edification and recreation—in perfect proportions": while still further letters emphasize the utility of such gifts from the priestly and apostolic point of view. The work is a timely and deserving one, and it will, we trust, have both support and success.

The Sword of the Spirit

A PRELIMINARY notice is here given of the new Catholic organization which Cardinal Hinsley has himself entitled "The Sword of the Spirit." Details are not yet available, but the general lines upon which it proposes to work are already known. It will endeavour to unite all Catholics of this country in full realization of the Christian ideals which we are defending, and to encourage them both to live in the spirit of those ideals and to spread effective knowledge of them among others. We cannot engage in a crusade unless we make ourselves worthy crusaders. Consequently, prayer and spiritual life will be strongly emphasized as a necessary foundation of all the organization's efforts. "By a sincere Catholic crusade of prayer and penance," so writes His Eminence, "by an intelligent study of the events and facts, by a strenuous defence of our country's cause, we shall do our share to secure the triumph of justice, truth and charity." Catholic Action in war time must show itself, to a large extent, in unselfish labour for our country's true welfare. But this means always something more than readiness to do our civic or military duty. Ours is the true teaching of Christ, ours are the principles upon which alone society can be justly constituted and an international arrangement be secured in justice and charity. It is our further duty to spread the knowledge of this teaching and these principles: this is the main objective of the new organization. "I strongly commend this crusade," concludes the Cardinal, "which I trust all truly Catholic organizations will zealously promote. I bless the efforts of all who will give their time and talents to carry on vigorously this great essential campaign. May God give them success."



THE POPE OF PEACE

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PIUS XII AND THE WAR¹

THE sudden change in the European situation, occasioned by Italy's entry into the war and the capitulation of France, is bringing out the expected crop of anti-Catholic weeds. For both these events Catholics are being held primarily responsible. *The Church Times* which, only two months ago, could speak of the Pope's "magnificent and prompt response" to the invasion of the Low Countries, now reverts to an old theme which was tiresomely familiar during the Spanish conflict, that, namely, of a pro-Fascist Catholic Church: it assures us, for example, on July 12th, that "in France, as in Spain and Italy, the Roman Church is in close alliance with the Fascist parties." As far as France is concerned, this accusation is dealt with elsewhere. Even the Holy Father does not altogether escape censure on the grounds that he ought to have denounced, in rounder terms, the behaviour of Mussolini and Pétain. One gutter publication, recently brought to our notice and started, incidentally, during the war, went so far as to speak of Hitler as a "true son of the Totalitarian Roman Church," and to inform us that the so-called "Pope of Peace" is "a wily fellow and wicked to the bone."

We have heard this vulgar abuse before, and will doubtless have to listen to it again. But it does not alter our conviction that at the present moment the prestige of Pius XII in England is distinctly high. This is due partly to a sincere appreciation of his personal qualities and of his stirring appeals and efforts in the interests of a true peace. It arises also from a growing awareness of his unique position as the venerated head of Catholics throughout the entire world. This consciousness was well expressed by the Anglican Bishop of Chichester in a letter to *The Times*, after the Pope's Easter address of 1940. "May I, as a Bishop of the Church of England," so the letter began, "offer a word of profound gratitude to the Pope for the Easter homily in which he gave one more striking illustration of his great care for justice and for peace? . . . The Pope both stands above the battle and is

¹ "The Pope Speaks," by Charles Rankin. With a Preface by H.E. Cardinal Hinsley. London: Faber & Faber. Pp. 336. Price, 7s. 6d. n. 1940.

also a sharer in the great human suffering which the battle brings to friend and foe, so many of whom confront one another in a compulsory enmity. It is of immense importance that he should let his voice be heard continually speaking both of the justice of God and the concord of nations." Another eloquent tribute to the Pope's person and position may be discovered in the address of a non-Catholic member of an American State Legislature shortly after the outbreak of war.

It seems to me [this speaker asserted] that there is only one person in the world who is able to guide us all to peace. By his personal qualities, by the respect which the whole world gives him, by his great position, it is evident that that person is Pius XII. Only by applying true charity can we be saved from the ultimate confusion to which unrestrained materialism has been leading us. I consider that the Pope, more than anyone else, is best fitted to lead in the way of charity. I am not a Catholic, and have not been educated by Catholics, so I think you can take my declarations as fairly impartial. I ask you again, who is better fitted than Pope Pius XII to lead the universal struggle for peace? He has spent his life in the study of religion and of international affairs. All his ideas are universal, they are unbounded by ties of nationalism. He has lived many years in the capitals of Europe. He knows North America. He has committed no error of tact which could put the heads of Totalitarian States in implacable opposition to any of his suggestions. He has given no favour to militarism. He is respected in the capitals of Europe—by rulers and by people.

Memories are at times inconveniently short. In the now altered situation of Europe it is good to remind ourselves that such representative judgments have been passed by non-Catholics upon the Papacy to-day and upon the reigning Pontiff.

These two passages are found in a timely and most useful volume, recently published by Faber & Faber, with the title of "The Pope Speaks." Its author, we understand, is a well-known journalist who writes here under the name of Charles Rankin. The first part of the book consists of a biography of Pius XII: "Pius the Man and his Efforts for Peace" is the heading given to it. The Life is composed largely from

Press reports, but, for all that, it is adequate, interesting, and clearly motived by a strong admiration for its subject and a genuine appreciation of his speeches and his work. Naturally, there are some few statements that require qualification. The gossip current at the time of the 1939 Conclave is repeated, and some of this is obviously hearsay and superficial. With a sentence or two we would positively quarrel, as when it is hinted that a certain broadcast from the Vatican Station in April, 1938, "was considered to represent the views of the most powerful members of the Society of Jesus" (p. 44). The "Mass of the High Spirit" (p. 49) is an odd variant upon the normal "Mass of the Holy Ghost": and a little more care would have avoided misprints in Italian names. But, on the whole, the Life is thoroughly well presented, is certainly most opportune, and will, we trust, enjoy a deserved success. The second and third parts contain an English rendering of all the Pope's allocutions, broadcasts and messages since March, 1939, as well as Mgr. Knox's version of the two Encyclicals "Summi Pontificatus" and "Sertum Laetitiae." Finally, in a fourth section, we have in handy form two Encyclical Letters and the famous Peace proposals of Benedict XV, together with one more Encyclical, this time the "Ubi Arcano Dei" of Pius XI, dealing with the disastrous consequences to Europe of the last War.

It is no accident that the peace messages of Benedict XV are included in this volume. For the relatively young Mgr. Pacelli, as he then was, was closely associated with Benedict's peace efforts. After Benedict's election, Gasparri was promoted Papal Secretary of State, and Mgr. Pacelli took Gasparri's place in the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. In this capacity he was largely responsible for the Pope's endeavour to alleviate some of the War's rigours. Arrangements were made to secure the exchange of prisoners unfit for further military service (30,000 were thus cleared through Swiss territory); to repatriate civilians too young or too old for active service (in this way 23,000 French and Belgians were released by Germany from the occupied areas); and also to move 10,000 wounded British, French and German soldiers to Switzerland in December, 1915, to allow them a better chance of recovery. In addition, prominent prisoners were pardoned, and the Catholic bishops in different countries were instructed to collect information concerning missing men and prisoners of war. For all this work Mgr.

Pacelli trained a special staff, and himself devoted much of his own time to it.

In the late spring of 1917 Benedict XV began his most definite peace approach to the belligerent Powers. That it was not his first approach may be seen from the early paragraphs of his well-known letter, published in the late summer and dated August 1, 1917. There he reminds the Powers that he has "never ceased to exhort the warring peoples and Governments to resume their brotherhood." He refers to a previous attempt, made after the first year of war, to point out "the path along which a peace, stable and honourable for all, might be attained." Three years later, in the 1920 Encyclical "*Pacem Dei Munus Pulcherrimum*," he was to return to this theme, declaring that, from the moment of his accession, he had done all in his power to re-establish and encourage peace. "To that end We never ceased to pray, to repeat exhortations, to propose ways of arrangement, to try every means, in fact to open by Divine aid a path to a just, honourable, and lasting peace; and at the same time We exercised all Our paternal care to alleviate everywhere that terrible load of sorrow and disaster by which the immense tragedy was accompanied." In the 1917 letter he put forward certain points as the basis of a constructive peace. These are now familiar. They included the emphasis upon Right instead of Force; reduction of armaments and a general acceptance of arbitration; freedom of the seas; the giving up of all territory, occupied during the War, and a common agreement to waive claims to reparation except in a number of specified cases. These proposals were first made public in August, 1917, but they had naturally been communicated to the Governments concerned several weeks earlier. Needless to say, they were politely acknowledged even if they were not too seriously entertained. However, it was Mgr. Pacelli, the hurriedly-consecrated archbishop of a titular see, who took the Papal letter to Germany and presented it personally to the German Kaiser and Chancellor and to the Austrian Emperor Karl. And, although his first high diplomatic mission was not crowned with outward success, it did inaugurate a period of twelve years' residence in Germany, first as Nuncio to the court of Munich, and later to Berlin.

This long period in Germany, when he lived through that country's defeat, revolution, and difficult development in the post-War years, gave Mgr. Pacelli an experience of Euro-

pean politics such as few churchmen have enjoyed. It was then that he negotiated successfully the Concordats with Bavaria and Prussia, the latter in the teeth of determined bigotry and opposition. But this was not his first contact with a foreign country, and it is of interest to recall the fact that, even prior to the World War, he had paid three visits to England: the first, in 1901, when he was the bearer of a personal letter of condolence from Leo XIII to Edward VII after the death of Queen Victoria: a second, for the Eucharistic Congress in 1908: and the third, in 1911, during the Coronation ceremonies of George V. It is recorded that, on this third occasion, he was much impressed by the famous Naval Review at Spithead. After his return to Rome to undertake the office of Papal Secretary of State, he was to sail to Buenos Aires for the Eucharistic Congress of 1934, and to travel the length and breadth of the United States in 1936. New York, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco—he saw them all, and Mr. Rankin tells us that, adapting himself with surprising ease to American conditions, Mgr. Pacelli had a special table placed in front of his seat in the aeroplane so that he could deal with correspondence and prepare his speeches on a typewriter. Later came a solemn visit to Paris and Normandy as Papal Legate for the inauguration of the new Basilica at Lisieux, and a similar legatine journey to the 1938 Budapest Eucharistic Congress. It is, consequently, the literal truth that Pius XII is a much-travelled and a widely-experienced man.

All this experience, this personal acquaintance with the character and circumstances of different peoples, both in the Old and New World, gives naturally an added realism and weight to the Pope's appeals for peace. He is speaking to peoples whom it is his mission to instruct and guide: he is speaking also to peoples whose character and problems he has come to know, whose cities and whose country-side he has himself seen, and for all of whom, whatever the crimes and folly of their rulers, he cherishes a truly Christian solicitude. The new Pope's first message, proclaimed immediately after his election, included a prayer that God's grace would be showered upon all Catholics, and divine assistance be given to "all those whose life is passed beyond the limits of the Catholic Church": it contained also an earnest appeal for peace, "the fairest of God's gifts, which passes all understanding, that peace that all men of feeling cannot but strive

for, the peace which arises from justice and charity." A month later, in his Easter homily, he returned more explicitly to the same theme. How far removed, he remarked, was the present condition of world affairs, from that serene, secure "tranquillity of order" which is bound up with any peace really worthy of the name. But how, indeed, can there be peace, he continued, in countries riddled with intrigue and quarrels, and exploited for the interests of sects and factions? How can peace be established while millions of men lack work and the possibility of a decent livelihood?—while mutual confidence, and the "common, equitable judgment and consent of minds" are wanting "which have been the power guiding the nations of the world along the shining road of civil progress"?—while, on the contrary, solemnly sanctioned treaties and pledged faith are robbed of that force and security which plighted faithfulness implies? There can be no peace, he concluded, without order; no lasting order without justice, to which must be joined the power of charity. The homily ended with an appeal to individuals, peoples and Governments for this peace "in justice and in Christian charity."

Mr. Rankin tells us the story of the Pope's diplomatic approaches to the various Powers between March and September, 1939, as far, that is, as it is capable of reconstruction from Press reports and the interpretation of foreign correspondents. For a fuller and an authoritative account we must naturally wait. As early as April we read of "feverish activities at the Vatican and of the Papal Nuncios, especially in Berlin, Paris and Warsaw" (p. 70). Vatican officials denied that the Pope had issued invitations to, or had even proposed, a five-Power conference, representing Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Poland, but it was admitted that the Nuncio at Berlin had appealed to the German Government for a peaceful settlement of the German-Polish dispute. The Pope's appeal was obviously, in the first place, a moral appeal, to evoke the necessary confidence and to create the basis for discussion and subsequent agreement. There is also evidence that at the Vatican's suggestion French-Italian difficulties were being reviewed in a more friendly spirit. The Pope's diplomatic advances were politely received, but they met with no striking response except the assurance from each capital that it had no desire for war. Speaking to the College of Cardinals on June 2nd, the Holy Father outlined these approaches and showed that they gave some reason for hope. "We thought

it timely," he declared, "to make known to some of the statesmen of the great European nations the anxiety which the situation was causing us at that moment, and our fear lest international difficulties should become intensified to the point of actual war. This step met in general with the sympathy of the Governments, we are glad to say, and, after it had come to the public attention (through no desire on our part), it met with the gratitude of the people; as a result of this step we received assurance of good will and of the resolve to maintain the peace which was so much desired by the people."

In July and August the situation grew daily graver and more threatening. It was clear that Germany was planning an attack on Poland. The Pope's activity through his representatives became even more marked and insistent. French and Italian conversations continued in Rome, Nuncios visited Hitler and Colonel Beck. On June 14th Admiral Horthy, the Hungarian Regent, had spoken publicly of a European conference under the guidance of the Pope. "The time has certainly come," he stated, "for the Powers finally to meet and find a solution which, if just, must be adhered to by all, and it would probably be best if this call came from some high personage like the Pope." For the first time since the Abyssinian war, the Pope publicly asked for a blessing on the heads of the Italian State, a gesture which was interpreted as a sign that the Italian Government was co-operating with the Vatican in its efforts to find a solution in true peace. Meanwhile, in an atmosphere of darker and more sinister secrecy, Germans and Bolsheviks were negotiating the Nazi-Soviet Pact which was to give Germany the assurance that she could safely embark on war in the East. The Pope continued his efforts. "I have not yet abandoned hope," he informed an audience of pilgrims on August 19th, "that the Governments will be sensible of their responsibilities to save their peoples from so grave a disaster." He had done, and was doing, all he could, he assured them: he had even put other work in the background in order to concentrate upon the one task of persuading the Powers to remain at peace. "Even now," he concluded, "we do not wish to abandon hope that a sense of moderation and realism will serve to avoid a conflict which, according to all forecasts, would surpass those of the past in material and spiritual destruction and ruin. We still trust that the rulers of the peoples will, at the decisive hour, avoid assuming the indescribable responsibility of an appeal to

force." The hour was indeed decisive, and, a week later, the same voice launched its most eloquent broadcast appeal "in the name of God."

It is with the force of reason and not with that of arms that justice advances. Conquests and empires not founded on justice are not blessed by God. The danger is vast, but there is still time. Nothing is lost by peace. Everything is lost by war. Let men understand one another again and begin negotiating. In negotiating with good will and with respect for their reciprocal rights they will realize that peaceful negotiations never exclude an honourable success. May the Almighty see to it that the voice of this father of the Christian family, of this servant of servants, may receive a ready and willing acceptance in their minds and hearts. May the strong hear us, and may it so be that their power does not bring destruction for the peoples, but the safeguarding of their tranquillity, of their order, and of their work. We entreat you by the blood of Christ, and in thus entreating we feel and know that we have with us all men with hearts, all those who hunger and thirst after justice, all those who suffer pain from the ills of life. We have with us the hearts of mothers which beat with ours, fathers who might have to abandon their families, the humble who work and are unaware, the young, generous knights of purest and noblest ideals; and with us, too, is the soul of this ancient Europe which grew up in the Christian Faith and genius. With us is the whole of humanity which looks for bread and freedom rather than for the sword, which kills and destroys. With us is that Christ who, in brotherly love, gave His fundamental and solemn commandment, the substance of His religion, the promise of salvation for individuals and nations.

Who can fail to distinguish in these eloquent and ardent words the Holy Father's intense longing for peace, his awareness of the misery and tragedy involved in war, his severe condemnation of aggression? Even after that appeal met with no response in the quarter where a response was most necessary, his voice has not ceased to beg that peace should be soon restored, and that the war should not be allowed to increase in savagery or in extent. The greatest neutral—he has been called. And neutral he most certainly is, since his Catho-

lic subjects are numbered, alas! on either side. But neutral he is not, and can never be, where violence, injustice and evil are in question. He has spoken frankly and decisively: in the October Encyclical "*Summi Pontificatus*," for example (known in its English version as "*Darkness over the Earth*") with its strong criticism of State-worship, and its insistence upon the true brotherhood of men; in the denunciation of Nazi atrocities in Poland: in his demand for reparation as a preliminary to any lasting peace, as when, in the Christmas address that contains his Five Points for peace, he declared that "a fundamental postulate of any just and honourable peace is an assurance for all nations, great or small, powerful or weak, of their right to life and independence" and that, where this natural arrangement had been disturbed, "order demands that reparation shall be made"; and, later, in his telegrams of sympathy to the rulers of Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. His special position was graciously recognized by the dispatch of Mr. Myron Taylor to the Vatican as the personal representative of the American President in order, to quote the President's words, "that our parallel endeavours for peace and the alleviation of suffering might be assisted." In his reply the Pope assured President Roosevelt that, "heedless of momentary failure and of the difficulties involved," he had always in mind the task and ideal of re-establishing peace, and referred with gratitude to the arrival of the new envoy as "an exemplary act of fraternal and hearty solidarity between the New and Old World in defence against the chilling breath of aggressive and deadly, godless and anti-Christian, tendencies, that threaten to dry up the fountain-head, whence civilization has come and drawn its strength."

His Christmas homily, delivered after four months of war, included the now famous Five Points for a peace settlement. Briefly they may be enumerated as follows: suitable reparation where rights have been violated and injustice done; a gradual and reciprocal reduction of armaments; the establishment of some juridical institution to guarantee the fulfilment of treaties and conditions agreed upon, and to revise and correct them, in case of need; the consideration of the real wants of nations and of minorities; the introduction into international affairs of the spirit of morality and faith "which alone can give life, authority, and binding force to the dead letter of international agreements." These points need not be further considered here: they may be found in the full text of

the homily, published in a convenient C.T.S. pamphlet, and they were examined in *THE MONTH* for February, 1940, in an article entitled "A Papal Pointer to Peace." Again and again, in various addresses and in special calls to prayer, does the Holy Father return to this central theme of peace. The fifth of the points above-mentioned is reiterated in a more personal manner at the end of the 1940 Easter homily. "Only Christ's law, only Christ's grace can renew and restore private and public life, redressing the true balance of rights and duties, checking unbridled self-interest, controlling passion, implementing and perfecting the course of strict justice with His overflowing charity. He who could give His commands to wind and storm, who could allay the waves of an angry sea and reduce them to calm, He it is who alone can turn men's hearts to peace and brotherly love: He alone can bid the nations settle their disputes, freely and successfully, not by violence but by the law of truth, of justice, and of charity; He alone can strike the swords from their hands, and join those hands at last in a treaty of friendship." Three weeks later, in a call to prayer, he insisted that he had left nothing undone to preserve and then to restore "that peace and concord which must be based on justice and reach its perfection in mutual fraternal charity," and he summoned all Catholics to pray, and pray vigorously and without ceasing, that God, in His goodness, might "re-establish men's minds in peace, bind them together again in fraternal union, and restore the order of tranquillity and justice," and that "the rainbow of peace appear once again, and a happier era open for human society."

The accent is always the same, eminently wise, paternal and truly Christ-like. The theme never varies; it is the recall to reason, to charity, to peace. Merely to read his words, to catch something of their depth and dignity and fervour, is to discover real and abiding consolation in most difficult days. So nobly and insistently has he preached the message of God and Christ; with such care and perseverance has he laboured for peace and justice among men. Mr. Rankin's book is, indeed, admirable, for it allows us, in easy compass, to understand and appreciate all this.

JOHN MURRAY.

LORD MANSFIELD AND TOLERATION

IN a highly interesting passage in his recently-published memoirs, John Buchan tells us that as a young law student at the beginning of the century he developed "a special admiration for Mansfield, and, finding that the life of the great Chief Justice had never been written, I set myself to remedy the lack. To this day I possess three stout volumes in which I have analysed and classified every one of his decisions."

It is true that at the period of which Buchan writes there was no adequate modern work on Mansfield. There is still a lack of such a work. Mr. Fifoot, of the Middle Temple and Hertford College, Oxford, has written an interesting study,¹ but I am afraid that it is severely technical in its style and unlikely to appeal to others than lawyers and students of the period. There remains the reliable Campbell.² The late Lord Tweedsmuir was not quite correct, however, in saying that no biography of Mansfield has been written. John Holliday, of Lincoln's Inn, published a biography in 1797. It is one of the thoroughly typical works of the period. Holliday wrote with anointed hands, and praised his subject with the undaunted adjectival *bravura* of those spacious times. During four revolving years he had been in expectation of some abler pen attempting the delineation of so exalted a character. He would—willingly—have resigned his materials to any gentleman desirous of signalizing himself in the annals of biography and of twining round his brow a wreath of no small estimation! But faltering resolution rallied as Mr. Holliday bethought of the tyros at the bar. Let them study his work, let them study the cases of the British Justinian and the speeches of the British Tully. By perseverance in study they might probably rise above mediocrity and disdain to creep with Timæus.

My purpose in this fragmentary essay is less elevated than Holliday's. It is unlikely that countless scores of law students will rise after reading my piece, prepared to put Sir Patrick Hastings or Mr. Norman Birkett in the shade. Here I am concerned not so much with the man who laid the foundations

¹ C. H. S. Fifoot, "Lord Mansfield." Oxford University Press. 1936.

² Lord Campbell, "Lives of the Chief Justices," Vol. II. 1849.

of modern commercial law, or with the man who declined to become Prime Minister, as with the enlightened judge who urged that the penal laws should be removed and the reign of tolerance declared.

In the famous case of *Rex v. Webb* (1768), familiar to all readers of Challoner's life, Mansfield avoided prosecuting a Catholic priest for saying Mass. Admittedly he did strain his sophistry to serve the ends of justice in this case, but it was an act of an honourable and a courageous man. It was to be remembered and held against him twelve years later by the mob at the time of the Gordon Riots. The priest was prosecuted under the penal statute of 1700 (11 and 12 William III, c. 4), which made celebration of Mass by a Catholic priest punishable by imprisonment for life. Lord Mansfield argued that the jury should not infer "that he is a priest because he said Mass, and that he said Mass because he is a priest." His direction to the jury is worth giving in full :

There are here two questions for your consideration :
 1st. Is the defendant a priest? Did he say Mass? By the statute of Queen Elizabeth it is high treason for any man proved to be a Popish priest to breathe in this kingdom. By what was considered a mild enactment in the reign of William III, a Popish priest convicted of exercising his functions is subject to fine and perpetual imprisonment. But, first, he is to be proved to be a priest, for unless he be a priest, he cannot be touched for the enormity of saying Mass, and then, unless he be proved to have said Mass, the crime of being a priest will escape with impunity. Now the only witness to the Mass is Payne—a very illiterate man, who knows nothing of Latin, the language in which it is said : and, moreover, he, as informer, is witness in his own cause; for upon conviction, he is entitled to £100 reward.

Several others were called, but not one of them would venture to swear that he saw the defendant say Mass. One swore that he sprinkled holy water; another, that he addressed some prayers to the Virgin Mary in English; another, that he heard him preach, and, being asked what the sermon was about, observed that "it taught the people that good works were necessary to salvation—a doctrine which he looked upon as wholly at variance with the Protestant religion!"

Then, as to the defendant being a priest, you are not to infer that because he preached; for laymen often perform this office with us, and a deacon may preach in the Church of Rome. A deacon may be a cardinal—if he may not be Pope. A deacon may even administer some of their sacraments, and perform many of their services; and we do not know that he may not elevate the Host—at least I do not know but he may; and I am persuaded you know nothing about it. If a deacon may perform all the ceremonies to which Payne swears, there is no evidence that the defendant is a priest. Why do they not call someone who was present at his ordination? You must not infer that he is a priest because he said Mass, and that he said Mass because he is a priest.

At the Reformation, they thought it in some measure necessary to pass these penal laws; for then the Pope had great power, and the Jesuits were then a very formidable body. Now the Pope has little power, and it seems to grow less every day. As for the Jesuits, they are now banished from almost every State in Europe. These penal laws were not meant to be enforced except at proper seasons, when there is a necessity for it; or, more properly speaking, they were not meant to be enforced at all, but were merely made *in terrorem*. Now, when you have considered all these things, you will say if the evidence satisfies you. Take notice, if you bring him in guilty the punishment is very severe; a dreadful punishment indeed! Nothing less than perpetual imprisonment!¹

The jury brought in a verdict of Not Guilty. Many zealous Protestants were scandalized. Mansfield's Scotch ancestry and alleged Jacobite tendencies were raked up. He was a Papist; he was even that dreaded animal, a Jesuit in disguise. All this was far from the truth, of course. Although he was a "sincere friend to the Church of England," he steadily protected Catholics and Dissenters from the rigours of unjust laws. He believed passionately in the principle of toleration. He was the first judge who extended the prerogative writ of *mandamus* to enforce the admission of a dissenting minister to an endowed chapel. In an action to recover penalties for bribery, he allowed a Quaker to stand as witness and give his

¹ Campbell, "Lives," Vol. II, pp. 514—516.

affirmation instead of taking the customary oath. "I wish the affirmation of a Quaker had been put on the same footing as an oath in all cases whatsoever," said Mansfield. "I see no reason against it, for the punishment of the breach is the same." To refer to another case. The Corporation of London passed a by-law inflicting a heavy fine upon freemen who, being elected, should not serve the office of sheriff. They then elected a Dissenter. They knew that he could not serve, for it was necessary, as a preliminary to taking office, to receive the sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England. He was, consequently, sued for the penalty and pleaded that "he was a Dissenter and therefore was incapable of serving." The plea was overruled in court, but the case came on for appeal before the House of Lords, where Mansfield upheld the Dissenter's plea.

There is no usage or custom independent of positive law which makes Nonconformity a crime [he said]. The eternal principles of natural religion are part of the common law; the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law;—so that any person reviling, subverting, or ridiculing them, may be prosecuted at common law. But it cannot be shown from the principles of natural or revealed religion that, independent of positive law, temporal punishments ought to be inflicted for mere opinions with respect to particular modes of worship. Persecution for a sincere, though erroneous, conscience is not to be deduced from reason or the fitness of things. . . . Conscience is not controllable by human laws, nor amenable to human tribunals. Persecution, or attempts to force conscience, will never produce conviction, and are only calculated to make hypocrites or martyrs.

My Lords, there never was a single instance, from the Saxon times down to our own, in which a man was punished for erroneous opinions concerning rites or modes of worship, but upon some positive law. The common law of England, which is only common reason or usage, knows of no persecution for mere opinions. For atheism, blasphemy, and the reviling of the Christian religion, there have been instances of persons prosecuted and punished upon the common law; but bare nonconformity is no sin by the common law; and all positive

laws, inflicting any pains or penalties for nonconformity to the established rites or modes, are repealed by the Act of Toleration, and Dissenters are thereby exempted from all ecclesiastical censures. What bloodshed and confusion have been occasioned from the reign of Henry IV, when the first penal statutes were enacted, down to the revolution in this kingdom, by laws made to force conscience !¹

This "noble vindication of the rights of conscience," as Lord Campbell justly describes it, produced a unanimous reversal of the decree of the Lord Mayor's Court, but caused much angry uproar in the city, where the Chief Justice was howled down as "little better than an infidel."

The interpretation of the common law given here by Mansfield is extremely interesting. We do not always appreciate the fact that the Protestant Reformation in this country left the State as it had been in medieval times, essentially theocratic. It is noticeable here, too, that the Chief Justice traces the origin and rise of penal statutes back beyond the eighth to the fourth Henry—to the Act *de Haeretico Comburendo* against the Lollards.

During the Middle Ages, heresy was a matter for the ecclesiastical law, and the State's function was limited to lending the strength of the secular arm to enforce the decrees of the Church. The State recognized and obeyed the law of the Church, which till the Reformation, meant, of course, the Roman Canon Law. Because it was so recognized, the writ *de haeretico comburendo* must be regarded as existing at common law.

"The fact that the Reformation of the English Church was carried through with the minimum of change, so that the thesis of its continuity could be maintained both by lawyers and ecclesiastics; and the fact that English law, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was likewise continuously developed from its medieval principles—ensured that, at the outset, the attitude of the law towards these offences against religion should be essentially medieval," says Sir William Holdsworth.² "During the Tudor period, as in the medieval period, Church and State were regarded as bound to

¹ Campbell, "Lives," Vol. II, p. 513.

² Sir William Holdsworth, "A History of English Law," Vol. VIII, pp. 402—420. Legal doctrines resulting from the laws against religious non-conformity. A most valuable summing up.

give one another assistance in carrying out those common objects."

This theory of the relationship between Church and State has almost entirely disappeared in England to-day, but it did persist for a very long time after the Reformation settlement—almost, I think it is safe to say, up to the time of Queen Victoria's accession. The famous seventeenth-century lawyer Coke laid it down that all infidels are in law perpetual enemies, "for between them, as with devils, whose subjects they be, and the Christian, there is perpetual hostility and can be no peace." But this idea was repudiated by Littleton, and, anyhow, it was an awkward doctrine for a commercial nation ready to do business with all comers. The whole object of persecution must be grasped. It was *political*. Notions about the personality of God or Christ did not count; but subversive ideas about the rights of property, for example, counted very much. Throughout medieval times it must be appreciated that the victims arraigned under ecclesiastical law could very well have been brought to justice under other charges. It merely intrigued medieval sovereigns and lawyers to have a "smack" at the Church. Religion is the basis of all true government, they argued. Therefore, the sovereign and his courts have an interest in religion. It is in the interests of the State to guard against heresy, since heresy tends to breed anarchy and disunity. It intrigued them, as I say, to be able, although a lay authority, to claim a prescriptive right to interfere in the ecclesiastical sphere. Much of the bitter hostility towards Catholics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was dictated by a very real fear that the Reformation settlement in Church and State might be overthrown. After the collapse of the Jacobite cause, this fear was no longer felt in any great degree by the educated classes, but to the lower orders Popery remained for many years to come as horrible and as tasty a subject for discussion as any high-class murder. This innate fear of the unknown Faith was, as we shall see, exploited in 1780 by the crack-brained Lord George Gordon.

One of the most disgraceful acts during the riots was the burning of Lord Mansfield's house by the mob. They yelled execrations at him, as a supposed Papist, and he had barely time to escape with Lady Mansfield by the back door. His magnificent house was entirely destroyed. His greatest loss was his library, full of books given him by Pope and Swift

and other great writers of the day. He had, too, an unrivalled collection of law books, and of legal manuscripts in his own hand. The gentle poet Cowper mourned this truly national loss in verse :

So then the Vandals of our isle,
Sworn foes to sense and law,
Have burnt to death a nobler pile
Than ever Roman saw.

And Murray¹ mourns o'er Pope and Swift,
And many a treasure more;
The well-judged purchase, and the gift,
That graced his lettered store.

Their pages mangled, burnt, and torn,
The loss was his alone;
But ages yet to come shall mourn
The burning of his own.

The riots were occasioned by the Catholic Relief Bill—a Bill in which (grim irony) Mansfield had taken no share. "Although it so happened that I never once spoke in this House in support of the obnoxious Bill to mitigate Roman Catholic penalties, and, as far as I can recollect, was not present when it passed through any of its stages, I approved, and I approve, of its principles," he declared in the House of Lords immediately after the riots had been quelled. "My desire to disturb no man for conscience' sake is pretty well known, and I hope, will be had in remembrance. I have no leaning to Roman Catholics. Many of those who are supposed to have directed the late mobs are not ignorant of my general tolerating principles when the toleration of sectaries does not portend danger to the State. I have shown equal favour to Dissenters from the Established Church of all denominations; and, in particular, those called Methodists can bear witness that I have always reprobated attempts to molest them in the celebration of their religious worship."

This was one of the finest speeches of his career. "I have not consulted books, indeed, I have no books to consult," he said. A sad allusion to the burning of his house. He then embarked upon a spirited defence of the Riot Act and the Royal Proclamation—a masterpiece of rhetoric and sustained, cogent reasoning.

¹ Lord Mansfield's family name was Murray. He was the fourth son and the eleventh child of the fifth Viscount Stormont in the peerage of Scotland.

After some delay on a technical plea, Lord George Gordon came up for trial in February, 1781. Erskine, the famous lawyer and politician, put up a bold and brilliant defence of Gordon, arguing that he had done all in his power to stop the riots. Lord Mansfield, who tried the case, summed up against Gordon, but he was acquitted of treason, to the great satisfaction of Dr. Johnson. Not that he approved of Gordon's conduct, but because he held that a man either commits treason or he does not. One cannot string together a number of acts not in themselves treasonable and call the result treason.

It is small wonder that such a man as Mansfield should have captivated the lively mind of John Buchan in his apprentice days. Burke says that the study of law is valuable to certain types of mind, but that it is not to be universally recommended; because, for certain men, instead of broadening their minds, such study leads to narrow and confined modes of thought. But the humane lawyer, who pursues law as a means to ensure justice, and not as an end in itself, is perhaps one of the finest types of men which a mature civilization can produce.

ROBERT AUBREY NOAKES.

Evils are abundant and it is God's Will that evils should be abundant. If only evil men were not abundant, evils would not be abundant. Bad times, hard times, men say. Let us but lead a good life and the times will be good. We are the times: such as we are so are the times. But what shall we do? We cannot perhaps convert the mass of mankind to a good life. But let the few who hear lead a good life; let the few who lead a good life bear with the many who lead an evil life. . . Let them endure that which they would not so as to obtain what they would. Why are we sad and blame God? . . . The world is evil—true; evil, yet loved as though it were good. But what is this evil world? For the sky and the earth and the waters and all the things therein, fishes, birds, trees, these are not evil. All these are good; it is evil men who make this evil world. . . Let us not find fault with the Master of the household, for He bears love towards us. He puts up with us; not we with Him. He knows how to manage that which He has made. Do that which He has commanded and then hope for that which He has promised.

St. Augustine (*Sermons lxxx, 8*).

BUT WHAT OF FRANCE ?

L A *FRANCE est morte*. When shall we be able to complete this with its sequel: *Vive la France*? The eclipse of our ally—both of this and the last War—of our co-partner in the defence of human and Christian things, is an event so startling in itself and so fraught with grave consequences, at least for the immediate future, that it is difficult even to think of it with any sure feeling of measure and proportion. That the eclipse is only temporary, we have no doubt. We are certain that France will rise again—a France purified, invigorated and ennobled—to reassume her rightful place both in the realm of political and national influence and in that of mind and spirit.

It is not, however, of the future that I wish to speak, but of the present and, in particular, of the present attitude towards France of a large number of Englishmen, as far as this attitude can be gathered from some supposedly popular newspapers. Since Marshal Pétain appealed to the Germans for an armistice, our relations with our former friend and ally have obviously altered, and altered very radically. Pétain's plea for this armistice, whatever the necessity that dictated it, was, to some extent, a betrayal, a going-back upon the most solemn of agreements, when the possibilities of further resistance were not yet exhausted. And—betrayal quite apart—it was an action taken without sufficient consideration for the situation and difficulties of France's ally. Pétain's failure to ensure that the French fleet would not fall into Nazi hands led inevitably to the strong British measures adopted at Oran and at Dakar. These were necessary for our own security, but it was a thousand pities that they had ever to be taken, and the resentment stirred by them will clearly be exploited by Nazi propagandists to weaken the ties which still bind Frenchmen to ourselves. There are tragic elements in the whole situation which might lead so easily to further misunderstanding and bitterness. But do let us beware of doing the enemy's work. When we criticize, wherever we feel called upon to condemn, let this be done with dignity and restraint, remembering something of what we owe to France, mindful of our common effort and sacrifice during the last War and in this,

moved with the profoundest sympathy for France in her sad circumstances of to-day. Only a few weeks ago, the British Government made to the French the remarkable proposal that, for the duration of the war, they and ourselves should be welded and fashioned into one single people. When we recall the strong objections that were raised from many quarters against the appointment of one Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in 1918, we realize at once what an advance this indicated. And it was no mere manoeuvre to sustain French resistance and stiffen French morale. It contained rather the recognition that the French cause and our own were inextricably linked, that they were at one with us in the will to preserve a way of thinking, living and letting others live, which the aggressor is determined, if he can, to root out of the world. Defeat may bring superficial changes in the structure of France: it will alter, little if at all, this will and its ideals in the heart of the French people. We may be, we are, disappointed; we may believe ourselves, in some measure, to have been betrayed. But recrimination and abuse are useless, they serve no purpose and may do a great deal of harm. What we surely need is understanding.

Even a casual glance at our popular Press throughout the past month will show us the importance of such understanding. Too frequently it has been conspicuous by its absence. In the first place, attempts have been made to throw the blame for the French capitulation on "reactionaries" and so-called Fascists and the like. Pétain and Weygand are known to be admirable Catholics, and accordingly these "reactionaries" are at once dubbed Catholic. The monstrous regiment of generals, higher clerics and aristocrats, with just a sprinkling of capitalists to give the mixture its Marxist flavour—which, incidentally, did such yeoman service during the Spanish war—is now trotted out again as the most suitable of scapegoats. It is all extremely simple: it is, of course, just as supremely absurd.

The reasons for the French unreadiness and collapse, as for the gradual waning of French morale, are many and complex. The Army Command must certainly assume a fair portion of the blame. Pétain himself, as General de Gaulle reminded him in a broadcast on June 26th, was Commander-in-Chief until 1932 and Minister of War in 1935. M. Tardieu has frequently argued that the morale in the French army was far inferior to that in the navy, and General de Gaulle,

writing in the French Catholic review, *Études*, in December, 1933, admitted that a certain demoralization was noticeable in the French forces in the war-weary years after 1919. The Army Command remains, however, the servant of the Government and, in this century at least, the French army has kept itself scrupulously aloof from politics. It is now increasingly clear that the main factor in France's collapse is to be discovered in its successive Governments for the past ten or twelve years, and—to go back even further—in the very system of government elaborated under the Third Republic. Democratic, in a sense, the regime was: but it had all the faults of democracy with far too few of its saving features. A want of authority and responsibility: cliques of politicians engrossed in personal or party interests, with little consciousness of the people's needs and far too little attention to national problems: a string of parties running through the political spectrum to finish in a deep red so that no Government could be other than a temporary coalition or compromise: the facile game of moving in and out of office, with the result that each succeeding Government appeared to be a mere re-grouping of the last, with the same, long-discredited ministers in key positions: pronounced Masonic tendencies which have done so much to de-Christianize French education and public life: and, finally, in recent years, the alarming growth of Communism and its culmination in the incompetent and anti-national *Front Populaire*—this is where we must first look for an explanation of France's failure. There were, no doubt, sincere, disinterested and patriotic men among the politicians, but the general verdict cannot fail to be a most unfavourable one. There was a lack of stability and confidence, an avoidance of realism, an unwillingness to call for the discipline and sacrifices which became, every year, more imperative, a disinclination even to let the French people know the real facts of the European situation.

Now these men were certainly not Fascist: they were liberal, radical and Marxist in their varying degree. Neither were they Catholic: the middle parties were indifferent towards religion, those of the Left were anti-clerical and normally anti-Catholic. Opposition to the Church, even when it was not personally felt, was part of their political outlook. They were heirs to the men who, thirty years ago, had driven the religious Orders and Congregations from France and secularized the schools—to the great detriment, as may now

be seen, of French morale. This Government spirit was so definite, and so definitely anti-Catholic, that it was difficult for a sincerely practising Catholic to hold a high position in the State: even in the army the practice of religion was a bar rather than a recommendation. The Gamelins were preferred to the Weygands for reasons other than military. Mr. Lloyd George, in his "War Memoirs" (Vol. II, pp. 1717—1718) brings out this contrast very acutely in the attitude of Clemenceau to Foch. The governing party in France, he notes—he is writing of 1918—was, and had for a long time been, anti-clerical. "Clemenceau was the most inexorable of all the anti-clericals. His life had been spent in fighting the influence of the Church. He would never enter a church. His refusal, when he paid a visit to Strasbourg after the Armistice, to attend a celebration of the liberation of Alsace in that glorious cathedral lost him the presidentship of the Republic when he was the most popular and powerful man in France. Foch was not only himself an ardent Churchman, his brother was a bishop [*sic.*, actually the brother referred to was a priest, a member of the Society of Jesus, which possibly made it worse]. Clemenceau had a deep distrust of all Catholic generals. He disliked placing power in their hands." If a great part of the blame must be given to this sequence of anti-Catholic Governments, far more concerned with self and party and ideology than with the nation's true welfare and concern, then the Catholics of France—in this respect at least—must be absolved from censure.

But—it might be urged—haven't men like Pétain, Weygand and the rest used the French collapse to rid themselves of the Third Republic, with which they had possibly little sympathy, in order to build up something more in keeping with their idea of a Christian State? That any Frenchman of the old tradition would consider this at the price of capitulation to the Germans is unthinkable, but let us first of all acquit them of any major responsibility for that collapse. The question has, in fact, no meaning unless you are prepared to allow them this. Rightly or wrongly, they judged the military situation to be hopeless. It is true that, during the last War, Pétain was thought unduly pessimistic and defeatist, but Weygand, be it remembered, was the disciple of the very optimistic Foch. Rightly or wrongly, they would not shoulder the task of continuing the war from France's African possessions. From our point of view, their decision

is naturally to be regretted, perhaps condemned. But, if one of their motives was, as the Press suggests, a genuine fear of revolution in France, fomented by the Communists, is not this a further indication of where we have to look for France's hidden and internal enemy? It was not the so-called Fascists, loosely but incorrectly supposed to be of "Right" political sympathies, but the Communists who, both before and during the war, have been undermining the French power of resistance and French morale. This was the tragic end to years of an illusory Franco-Soviet *rapprochement*. An external Pact with Russia, which might have appeared, but definitely was not, a revival of the Franco-Czarist alliance, permitted Communism to work and grow in France, almost unchecked. When war came again, it was realized, only too late, that Nazi-ism and Communism had joined hands and had, in fact, been co-operating all the time.

Incidentally, who are these Fascists that are so much in the news? The Croix de Feu? They are mostly old soldiers, anti-Government, in a sense, but largely non-political. The party of Charles Maurras and the *Action Française*? To some extent: and Catholics were numbered among them, though the paper itself was, until recently, condemned by the Holy See. The followers of M. Jacques Doriot, the one-time Communist mayor of St. Denis? M. Tardieu, who retired from political life long ago? M. Laval, who is a politician of the typical French style? These names and these groups have been mentioned. But what importance had or have they? And what is their connexion, if any, with the Catholics of France? That the original ban on the *Action Française* was a severe blow to certain of the older Catholics, is true enough, but it is doubtful whether its appeal to a younger generation has been considerable. Consequently, we are almost more puzzled than annoyed to learn from the pages of *The Church Times* (July 12th) that "in France, as in Spain and Italy, the Roman Church is in close alliance with the Fascist parties." If the Vatican is meant, then its attitude towards "Fascism" (to employ the word in the same loose sense) is perfectly clear from the two Papal Letters "Mit Brennender Sorge" and "Non Abbiamo Bisogno," as its attitude towards Communism is trenchantly stated in the Encyclical "Divini Redemptoris": the present Holy Father's judgment upon this war can be sufficiently gathered from his many addresses and appeals. But if the reference is to the French hierarchy, we can only

assert that they believed, and still believe, in the justice of the Allied resistance to German aggression. "We may be sad," wrote Cardinal Suhard, then of Rheims and now of Paris, "but we are not depressed. And we draw our determination from the justice of our cause. . . We feel that we are marching not only in support of pledges given to a nation that is ruthlessly attacked, but because greater things are at stake, for both the French and for the world; the maintenance of justice, of the right to freedom and international peace, values without which the world would become uninhabitable and civilization would be endangered." "Despite fear and anxiety," the late Cardinal Verdier exhorted his people, "let us raise our eyes and admire as Christians the crusade our country is undertaking." Now that France's active share in that crusade has, to a large extent, ceased, let us remind ourselves that these judgments still stand, for them as for ourselves. More recent pastorals, composed since the collapse, emphasize not the need of any political theory or doctrine, but of a sincere return to Christian living and to God. "Our hearts are crushed, no doubt," so spoke the Archbishop of Bordeaux, "but, if France is wounded, she is not dead: it is not a resurrection but a cure that she needs. Ours is the task of curing her by returning, each of us, as far as in us lies, to the Christian traditions that were once our country's greatness; ours the task of saving the essential principles in the education of our youth, on whom our future depends." France will be saved "if Frenchmen faithfully and officially return to God by obedience to His laws; if the sense of home and country be generously revived in our souls; if France be served with conscientious professional work in a loyal, just, charitable and pacific collaboration of all her activities." These are Christian accents, untouched by any other -ism than that of suffering bravely faced and hope sustained under the shadow of, and yet with full confidence in, the Cross.

For France this is indeed the hour of darkness. God grant that we add nothing to that darkness by senseless abuse and futile recrimination. We may analyse, we may regret, we may condemn: but let all this be enveloped in a large and generous sympathy and understanding. And let us also apply the lessons of our analysis and censure to ourselves, for we stand in serious need of them. I find it difficult to conclude these few words on France without at least a reference to the amazing and vital activity of French Catholics during the

past twenty years : it has not yet been able to leaven the whole, but, as leaven, it is emphatically there. The prose and verse of a Claudel, a Ghéon, of Maritain and Mauriac, the social enterprise of an *Action Populaire*, and a *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*, the reclamation of the Parisian *banlieue*—these are the stirrings of a live and active Faith. For France, the Catholic will feel, there is always a sure hope, the very certainty of revival and new glory. He may smile, when he hears them, but he will be strangely moved at Péguy's words which God is made to speak to France :

O peuple inventeur de la cathédrale, je ne t'ai point trouvé léger
en foi.
O peuple inventeur de la croisade, je ne t'ai point trouvé léger
en charité.
Quant à l'espérance, il vaut mieux ne pas en parler,
il n'y en a que pour eux.

FRANCIS MARCH.

"THE MONTH" FORWARDING SCHEME

Whilst we realize that these are difficult times, and that we cannot hope to extend very considerably the list of subscribers, we do make a strong appeal for *Foreign Stamps*. The market for these stamps has definitely improved, and we are most anxious to resume those direct subscriptions given to missions by this fund, which recently through lack of funds we were reluctantly compelled to abandon. If missionaries (especially in the British Empire) would make a special effort to send us more stamps, and if all readers would collect them, we should soon be able to supply again those missions so unfortunately deprived of their MONTH.

No more names can be added to the waiting list until further notice.

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE SOVIET-GERMAN PACT

WHEN, why, and in what manner did Stalin decide to make his choice between the Western democracies and Nazi Germany? What is the real strength and significance of the present Soviet-German collaboration? Is it as unnatural and organically weak as it appears to many observers? Is it a "marriage of convenience" to be broken at the first opportunity, or a "wedlock unto death" founded on mutual sentiment and interest?

These and similar questions have been, and are still eagerly discussed in the Press, in diplomatic chancelleries, in parliaments, at public meetings, and in private conversation. But it is seldom that one comes across an intelligent answer. This is due to the fact that those who seek to solve "the Soviet enigma" base their attempts either on preconceived notions and wishful thinking, or on mere speculation, and do not take into account the historical background which, to a large extent, predetermines the present policy of the Soviets.

My contention is that Stalin never found himself on the horns of any dilemma. The development of Soviet-German relations during the last twenty-two years removed any possibility of his throwing in his lot with the Western democracies. I am also convinced that the Communist-Nazi alliance is not a temporary accommodation designed to serve the practical needs of a particular situation, but an enduring union aiming at far-reaching results.

The guiding principle of the Soviet foreign policy, from the very conception of the Communist regime in Russia, was that of hostility to the "imperialistic plutocracies" of Western Europe. Sometimes this hostility manifested itself quite openly, sometimes it was concealed under the cloak of diplomatic conventions. But it has always been present because Soviet leaders realized only too well that their dream of World Communism could become a reality only through the destruction of the British Empire, this mighty bulwark of individual freedom and Christian civilization.

The German militarists and nationalists, for quite different reasons, were bent upon the same purpose. They, too,

realized that the German world empire could be erected only on the ruins of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Both, the Bolsheviks and the Germans, knew that, should they dare to tackle their formidable arch-enemy single-handed, they would be most certainly defeated and destroyed. Hence arose the idea of Soviet-German co-operation. During the entire period between the two European wars this idea was pursued with untiring energy and persistence.

The first historical document in which this idea, in its initial form, was embodied, was the agreement concerning the passage through Germany, in a sealed carriage, of a group of Russian revolutionaries headed by Lenin, Zinoviev, and Radek. This agreement, negotiated through the services of a Swiss Socialist, Platten, and a German Social-Democrat, Paul Levi, was sponsored by Erzberger and Count Brockdorff Rantzau, approved by the Reichschancellor Bethmann Hollweg, and countersigned by the Chief of the General Staff, General Ludendorff.

Lenin made it quite clear that his purpose was to destroy the military power of Russia in order to stop "the imperialistic war and transform it into a civil war." This intention fully coincided with the plans of the German Government and the High Command of the German army. General Max Hofmann, the Commander-in-Chief of the Eastern Front, explained quite frankly in his article, published shortly after the War in *Das Militaer Wochenblatt*, why he consented to the proposal to send Lenin and his confederates to Russia. "We Germans," he wrote, "being at war with Russia, had an undoubted right to strive to increase the confusion caused by revolution in the country and in the army. If I am entitled to shell the trenches of the enemy or use poison gas against him, in the same way I am entitled to wield the weapon of propaganda against a hostile army."

General Ludendorff was equally explicit. In his "Memoirs" he wrote: "I have been assured by the Reichschancellor that by smuggling Lenin into Russia we should be able to accelerate the tendency towards peace in the Russian army and navy. Since then the weakening of Russian resistance was the pivot of all the military plans worked out by General Headquarters."

Lenin thought, it is true, that the Russian revolution would find a repercussion in Germany and, ultimately, bring about the general collapse of the Capitalist system in Europe. He

succeeded, however, in destroying the last vestige of Russian resistance, and thus played into the hands of the German militarists. The victory of Lenin in Russia allowed the German High Command to transfer a large number of troops to the Western Front, prolonged the War for a year, and caused great losses in human lives and in material wealth. Lenin's betrayal of Russia and of the Allies brought German victory within an ace of realization.

While the German Government made use of the Bolsheviks as its tools, it took good care to supply them with funds for their subversive work. A well-known Socialist leader, the late Edouard Bernstein, who, after the Revolution, was given access to the archives of the German Foreign Office, publicly stated (*Vorwaerts*, January 14, 1921) that Lenin and his agents received altogether more than 50 million gold marks from the secret funds of the German Government. Indeed, the threat to publish documentary evidence regarding the sinister complicity of Bolshevik leaders and German militarists has been, and still remains, a formidable instrument of blackmail in the hands of the Germans in their dealings with the Soviets.

On March 4, 1918, Lenin had to capitulate and accept the Diktat forced on him by General Hofmann at Brest-Litovsk. As is well known, this outrageous treaty was hotly denounced by many prominent Bolshevik leaders, including Trotsky; and Lenin had to strain his influence to the utmost in order to persuade the Central Committee of the Communist Party to submit meekly to the "kick of General Hofmann's boot." His chief argument was that no sacrifice of Russian national interests was excessive if, by making it, the Communists would be able to retain their power over Russia. In an interview with *The Daily News* correspondent (March 22, 1918) Lenin gave the following justification of his surrender at Brest-Litovsk: "The task of the Soviets is to hold on till the exhaustion of the belligerent groups of European Capitalism provokes revolution in all countries."

It is far less known, however, that a secret protocol containing certain political provisions, was signed by the contracting parties simultaneously with the conclusion of the peace treaty. This document has never been published, and its exact text is still unknown. There are indications, however, that it included a guarantee on the part of the German Government, in exchange for military and economic conces-

sions, to render assistance to the Soviets should they be confronted with a strong anti-Communist movement in Russia. The existence of an understanding of this kind was confirmed by the German Socialist leader, Scheidemann, at the meeting of the Council of the German Social-Democratic Party, held on September 23, 1918.

On September 10, 1918, a new agreement was made between the Soviet and German Governments. By it the Germans obtained many important economic privileges in Russia, forced the Soviets to pay the sum of 6,000 million gold marks as "reparation," and stipulated the destruction of certain military and naval bases and fortresses in the Baltic and along the western frontiers of Russia. On their part the Germans promised to help the Bolsheviks against the Allied expeditionary forces in Murmansk and Archangel, against the Czechoslovaks who had started a rebellion in the Volga region and in Siberia, and against the "White" forces which at that time were organized by the Generals Alexeiev, Denikin and Krasnov, in the southern provinces.

Lenin viewed the defeat of Germany with dismay. He thought that either the new German Government would join forces with the Allies for the destruction of the Soviet power in Russia, or that the Allies, after making peace with Germany, would send a large army against the Soviets. He was, however, mistaken. Neither of these two alternatives materialized. The Allies, after some feeble and abortive intervention, left the Russians to fight out their differences between themselves. As far as the German nationalist circles were concerned, they soon began, after their defeat, to work for a *rapprochement* with Red Moscow, hoping to use Russia as a basis for the restoration of militarist Germany.

A few days before the Armistice, the Soviet ambassador to Germany, Ioffe, was caught red-handed with a large quantity of seditious Communist literature in his diplomatic bag, and was made to depart from Berlin in a hurry. Soon afterwards, however, Lenin's confidential emissary, monkey-faced, puckish Karl Radek, crossed the German frontier with a faked passport.

Upon his arrival in revolutionary Berlin this mischievous hobgoblin of the Russian Revolution made contact with Karl Liebknecht, the leader of the German Spartacists. In January, 1919, a secret agreement was signed by these two men. By this agreement Liebknecht, as the future President

of the German Soviet Socialist Republic, was to receive a considerable sum of money from Moscow for revolutionary purposes, and was promised military assistance should he succeed in overthrowing the legitimate German Government. On his part, Liebknecht undertook to introduce immediately a Soviet regime in Germany after the approved Moscow fashion, and to put an army of 500,000 men under the supreme command of Trotsky. It had been also agreed to denounce the Armistice with the Western Powers and renew the war.

Thus, there was nothing new about the "peace treaty" which Molotov concluded with the Finnish "Popular Government" of Kuusinen. Stalin, once again, faithfully followed the precedent established by his predecessor on the Red throne.

In February, 1919, after the suppression of the Spartacist revolt in Berlin, Radek was arrested, and for some time kept in prison chained to a wall. Soon, however, he became a recognized and honoured representative of Moscow and an intermediary between it and the German militarists. His cell in the Lehrterstrasse prison was turned into a veritable "political salon" in which he received distinguished visitors, and where the first personal contact between the "Reds" of Moscow and the "Brown-Black" reactionaries of Berlin was effected.

In the light of present events it is highly instructive to recall some details of this forgotten incident as told by Radek himself in his "Memoirs," published fifteen years ago in Russia. As far as I am able to ascertain, this book has never been translated into any foreign language.

Radek's first visitors were the Turkish leaders, Talaat and Enver. Both expressed the conviction that the only chance for Turkey to regain her independence was a close alliance with the Soviets. They also told Radek that they were urging the German military circles to come to an understanding with Moscow in view of organizing common action against the Entente.

Radek suggested that Talaat should go to Moscow and put his views before Lenin himself. The Turkish leader accepted the invitation, but before he was able to leave Berlin he was assassinated by Armenian terrorists. Enver went to Moscow and then to Turkestan, from which he was planning to organize a revolt of Indian Moslems against British rule. But he soon quarrelled with the Bolsheviks, took part in an

anti-Soviet rising in Turkestan, and was killed in a skirmish with a Soviet cavalry detachment. His sword is now in the Military Museum in Moscow.

Another distinguished visitor was Walter Rathenau, the organizer of German industry during the Great War, the future Foreign Minister of the Weimar Germany, and the signatory of the Rapallo Soviet-German Treaty. They discussed the international situation, and Rathenau expressed the view that it was necessary for Germany and the Soviets to draw closer to one another in order to oppose the Capitalist Powers of the West. He spoke also of the community of economic interests between the two countries.

A further visitor was Maximilian Garden, the brilliant radical publicist of pre-War Germany. He asked Radek to write an article on the future of Russo-German relations. In his talk with Radek, Garden was very pessimistic about Germany's future. He did not conceal his mistrust of the German Socialist and democratic leaders, and showed great interest in the Communist movement, which he thought to be the only living and growing force in Germany.

Baron Raiwnitz, General Ludendorff's school friend, and one of the first German "National Bolsheviks," told Radek that the idea of union with Soviet Russia was gaining strong support in the Reichswehr circles.

Among other visitors were the German Communists, Clara Tzetkin, Paul Levi, and Ruth Fischer, and also Rear-Admiral von Hintze, formerly the German Naval attaché in St. Petersburg and Kaiser Wilhelm's Foreign Minister. Von Hintze represented himself as a partisan of an alliance between Soviet Russia and Germany.

The most surprising visitor of the Moscow envoy was, however, Colonel Bauer, the Chief of the Eastern Department of the Military Intelligence during the Great War, and afterwards one of the trusted assistants of General von Seeckt, Commander-in-Chief of the reformed Reichswehr.

Bauer told Radek that the military leaders were not conspiring against the German democratic Government. They preferred to wait till the workers became dissatisfied with democratic rule and reached the conclusion that the dictatorship of labour would be possible only under conditions of mutual understanding between the workers and the officer class. He also expressed the conviction that the Soviets were natural allies of Germany in her struggle against the Entente.

Radek advised his visitor to go to Moscow—advice which was taken by Colonel Bauer. Some of his impressions he related in an extremely interesting book, "The Land of the Red Tsars," which was published in Germany in 1925.

These connexions which Radek established with the German military circles proved to be very useful and fruitful. In the summer of 1920, when the Red army invaded Poland and threatened Warsaw, General von Seeckt submitted, through the Soviet agent, Vigdor Kopp, the proposal of a military alliance between Germany and Russia. He suggested that after the conquest of Poland had been accomplished, he should engineer a *coup d'état* and put in power in Germany a Government which would be ready to conduct an active anti-Versailles policy, and to form a common Soviet-German front on the Rhine. The Prime Minister of this Government would be Count Brockdorff Rantzau, who was the first Foreign Minister of the German Republic and resigned when the Reichstag sanctioned the signing of the Versailles peace treaty. It is known that Brockdorff Rantzau had in his pocket the text of a declaration in which the German people were called to wage war on Capitalism and Imperialism. The declaration was to be published immediately after the refusal of the Reichstag to accept the Versailles Treaty.

But the Red army suffered a crushing defeat near Warsaw and, consequently, von Seeckt's plans fell to the ground. Nevertheless, the secret negotiations between him and the Soviet General Staff concerning possible collaboration continued. Von Seeckt took good care to keep his Government in the dark concerning these negotiations, as he believed that "Governments come and go, but the army, the basic instrument of German policy, remains."

These secret negotiations resulted, in 1921, in some very important practical arrangements. Several German military missions went to Russia and took part in the reorganization of the Red army; a flying school for German officers was established in Russia, and many Red army officers were admitted to the German military schools for advance training.

The Rapallo Treaty of 1922, with its secret clauses, gave the legal basis for this close collaboration between the Reichswehr and the Red army.

The surprise caused in French and British diplomatic circles by the conclusion of this treaty is well known. It is less known, however, that the man who organized this amazing

coup, effected in the approved style of a hair-raising thriller, was General von Seeckt, who succeeded in winning the support of Herr Walter Rathenau, the German Foreign Minister. As a matter of fact, the German Government and, especially, the Reichspresident Ebert, who detested the Bolsheviks and fully realized the menace of Communism to the Labour movement, were irrevocably hostile to any alliance with Moscow. Rathenau, by his secret deal with Chicherin, presented his Government with a *fait accompli*, and the Government had not sufficient courage to repudiate this piece of political insolence.

The meeting between Rathenau and Chicherin was arranged with great secrecy at dead of night and in a secluded villa. And this was done in order to prevent the members of the German delegation from reporting to Berlin or communicating with the British and French delegations.

Later, Rathenau tried to justify his action. He made it known that Chicherin told him from the outset that London and Paris were prepared to conclude an agreement with Moscow directed against Germany, and that this agreement would be signed in the course of the next few hours should Rathenau fail to come to terms with the U.S.S.R. and give necessary guarantees in case the Entente were to show hostility towards Russia.

During the period preceding the Rapallo Treaty, von Seeckt had to conceal from his Government his collaboration with the Red army. The funds necessary for this work came from the secret hoard of the Reichswehr as well as from contributions provided by German industrialists, headed by Krupp and Stinnes. The work was also assisted by the Prussian Minister of Public Security, Herr Weitzmann, who supplied false passports for the officers travelling to Moscow.

After the Rapallo Treaty this *rapprochement* could be continued on a larger scale, and more or less openly. At that time Moscow and Berlin had one and the same aim—"the getting rid of the Versailles Treaty." The Reichswehr obtained facilities for making armaments and for training the personnel for those branches of warfare which had been forbidden by the Versailles Treaty, while the Soviets secured technical advice as well as machinery for their munition factories.

In Fily, near Moscow, a large aircraft factory was constructed by the Germans. A certain portion of the machines

remained in Soviet Russia, while another portion was held to be the property of the Reichswehr. At Lubertzy, in the province of Tambov, a flying school was opened where 120 German officers were trained annually as pilots. It is estimated that between 1922 and 1935 at least 1,500 military pilots passed through this school. The training of other specialists—gunners and officers of the tank corps—was organized on similar lines.

These arrangements came to an end only in 1935 when Goering was able to transfer all these training facilities to Germany.

Space forbids full discussion of all details of the clandestine relations between the Soviets and the German militarists during the period between 1922 and 1935. Some of the facts were revealed by an English writer, Mr. Melville, in his now forgotten book "The Russian Face of Germany."

After Hitler's advent to power, several high officers of the Red army, headed by Tukhachevsky and Gamarnik, demanded that the ties with the Reichswehr should be broken. Tukhachevsky thought that the denunciation of the Soviet-German military convention and the threat of an alliance with France would make Reichswehr circles overthrow Hitler. As Germany at that time was in a very weak position, this plan might have worked. Stalin, however, categorically refused to sanction it, and the German officers continued their training in Russia, although Hitler suppressed the Communist movement in Germany with the utmost severity, and preached a crusade against the Soviets.

By 1935 the relations between the Soviets and the Nazis had become rather strained, and Stalin had to put an end to this Soviet-German military collaboration. He sent Litvinov to Geneva to preach disarmament, "collective security," to negotiate non-aggression pacts, etc. At the same time, the direction of all the military matters in Russia was entrusted to Tukhachevsky, the avowed enemy of Hitlerism.

Now, in retrospect, it is quite apparent that the aims of Stalin's policy in 1934—1937 were to prevent Great Britain and France from arriving at any sort of settlement with Italy and Germany, and, at the same time, to exercise pressure on Hitler in order to persuade him of the necessity of an alliance with the Soviets.

There is very good reason to believe that the foundations of the present Soviet-German co-operation were laid as early

as the spring of 1937. The "purge" in the Communist Party and the Soviet administration from anti-Nazi elements, and the execution of the best generals who had been known to possess strong anti-Nazi views, point to this conclusion.

The collaboration between German militarists and nationalists and the Russian Communists at first aimed at the destruction of the Versailles system of European peace. Now this collaboration assumes far larger and far more ominous proportions. Both Nazis and Communists have joined forces in order to destroy the very principles on which Christian culture and civilization have developed during the last 2,000 years, and to build up the future world on entirely new ideological conceptions.

I do not say that a quarrel between the two totalitarian dictators is impossible. But what I am afraid of is that this quarrel may occur too late to be of advantage to Western democracy.

In any case, it is foolish to harbour delusions. Nazis and Communists are united in their general aim: they are a joint concern of two "Public Enemies No. 1."

ANATOLE V. BAIKALOFF.

EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 3,500 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in the "Month," if accepted.

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MISCELLANEA

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

FROM A NORWEGIAN NOTE-BOOK.

The Guide.

THIS is an experience which befell me some years ago: it is perhaps not extraordinary, and may not be of interest to others; similar experiences have, I believe, been recorded. But I recount it, for what it is worth, from my note-book of the time.

I had spent the night at an old mountain-hospice at the top of a pass; a place that had given shelter to generations of fur-traders and reindeer-herdsmen: how welcome its red buildings had been, as I trudged upward in the cold evening between tortuous walls of granite, broken here and there to afford a glimpse of the doom-silent, snow-clad valley in whose stunted birches fieldfares and redwings, recently returned from England, uttered sibilant cries, glad to be back in their native land.

They were simple-hearted, kindly folk in that mountain-station, and would have had me stay on next day, or as long as I liked, for the fells were impassable, they said, the "road" was buried under twelve feet of soft, treacherous snow all the way to Ravensheim, the nearest dwelling, and it would be madness to attempt it as I could not ski. But I was obstinate and also ignorant. I was determined to continue my journey, for the fever of the North (this is no cliché) had seized me, the white silence of the mountains drew me with a deadly fascination. Besides, had I not sweated in the heat of the returning sun in the valleys, where gorgeous butterflies flitted incongruously over the snow? Spring had returned, the fells could not be so terrible now.

They were anxious, but I would not be deterred; and in the eerie light of the snow-dawn I set out, rucksack on back, borrowed snowshoes on my feet. It was exhilarating to be loping down the "track" which, for a while at least, was easy to follow, since it ran along the edge of the precipice towering above the head of the valley. The wind whipped my face, and out of the lowering cloud-packs that pressed about the immaculate peaks, snow like white grit came hissing.

I jogged on, soon realizing I could not long maintain the swift pace at which I had started out, for though I had purposely risen early, there had been no frost to speak of to help me. Nevertheless, all would have been well but for an unlucky mishap which occurred and which, had it not been followed by the experience or encounter—call it what you will—that is the *raison d'être* of this tale, would undoubtedly have cost my life.

After I had been travelling perhaps two hours across the lower slopes of the fells, I came to a stream still partially encased in its sheath of ice, winding sluggishly on its long journey to the sea.

"Lo, where Maeotis sleeps and hardly flows, the freezing Tanais through a waste of snows," I remember thinking at the time. It was too broad to leap, so I began carefully to feel my way over. With a shrill, djinn-like whine it gave way; I was thrown down in snow and icy water, and when I had picked myself up and scrambled out, I found, to my annoyance and then to my consternation, that one of the snowshoes had been ripped off. I could not find it anywhere: it must have been borne away under the broken sheath of ice.

Stupid though it no doubt was, I did not even then recognize my folly and turn back to the shelter of the little hospice. I had a goal to reach, and to return to Mariskog would have been to admit defeat. I discarded the now useless second snowshoe and pushed on across the fells.

For a time it was an adventure, it was something to pit one's strength against, but that feeling presently gave way to one of anxiety and irritation, for the mountain air began to have its subtle effect. My rucksack cut my shoulders, sweat drenched my back, as I floundered through the soft snow. At first I was struggling ankle deep, and this went on for two slow miles that took an hour to cover. Then, without warning, the soft surface of snow deepened. I was now knee deep, frequently thigh deep. Every dozen yards or so I would lose my footing and be flung down, my heavy rucksack hitting my head each time I fell.

All around me were the vast, endless deserts of snow stretching out to the peaks, and steeped in a terrible silence which cannot be imagined by anyone who has not experienced it. It was akin to some awful, soul-numbing music that played out its chords of hopelessness and despair into eternity. Not the least fearful element was the sense of insignificance and futility which it communicated.

Panic began to seize me.

Instinctively I floundered on, all sense of time lost, aware only of the necessity of escaping from those lonely fells, or perhaps from the responsibility of struggling on.

I saw a white fox scrabbling among a clitter of rocks; once a pair of ptarmigan, dimly white, sped swiftly across the slopes, uttering their gobbling cries, and I was comforted by the presence of living creatures. But such comfort was short-lived. My falls became more frequent. I found it increasingly difficult to get up again: I wanted to lie there in the snow and let the drowsiness, which I knew would be fatal, steal over me where I lay. It became as much mental as physical effort to rouse myself. However, I struggled on, hour after hour, progressing, maybe, a mile

in each, then less and less. I was soaked to the waist by snow, and my eyes were red-blinded by it after I had looked at my useless map.

I tried to eat the food they had given me at the hospice, but was too tired; to such an extent had the mountain air enfeebled me. All I wanted was a drink. Though I knew I should not, I ate snow, and suffered a blistered tongue for days afterwards, but at the time it tasted good, for I had a great thirst.

Then, some time in the afternoon, I suddenly raised my head and saw, not fifty yards away, a group of red buildings, silent and dead. I struggled on until I was abreast of them, but the snow about them was too deep and soft to navigate, so I yelled and whistled where I was. The echo of my voice mocked me from behind the buildings.

No one came.

Minutes of the most terrifying silence ensued. My heart sank. Perhaps, I thought, I am too weak to make myself heard: they are huddled round the stove, waiting for the winter to pass, isolated completely, their only company the beasts of the stable—for so do many families of the north spend the desolate winter. No one came.

This seemed the last blow. I could not go on. My brain was asleep in a dream-scene that might have been conceived by a Goya or a van Gogh. I was asleep on my feet, supported by the deep snow in which I stood.

How long afterwards I awoke, I cannot tell. The lowering clouds were pressing closer. The murky afternoon was well advanced. Night could not be far off. But I did not mind. I was numbed by a frightening apathy to what happened.

My dulled brain was a long time realizing that from the direction of the silent buildings, the dim figure of a man had appeared, moving expertly and confidently across the snow with such an ease that he seemed to glide. Vaguely I saw him beckon me. I followed him automatically.

"Why didn't you come when I called?" I heard myself saying.

"I came to you as soon as I heard you call," he replied gently.

When I realized the full significance of this stranger finding me by some lucky chance, I was suffused with a glow of relief. My lips trembled as I tried to speak, but the man only turned and urged me on again and seemed to be smiling amid the furs of his headgear.

He was never more than a dim figure in the murk, pressing on a dozen paces ahead of me, while I strove to keep up. Whenever I showed signs of dropping behind he would pause and wait while I recovered. But I did not fall so frequently now, and I was able to manage. Through the ghostly gloom we went, skirting the impassive mountains in whose peaks eternity and absoluteness surely dwelt. The wind began its eldritch scream again; the white

grit hissed on my clothes. The sweat of effort gave place to the searing pain of cold.

On we toiled, I struggling more instinctively than consciously, my guide flitting dimly ahead. We did not talk, but I felt strangely happy, for I had lost that sensation of indifference to my fate which would certainly have resulted in my death from exposure. Tired though I was, I no longer had any doubts as to whether I should reach haven before the night overtook us. I felt that I could trust this man utterly. Quite apart from the fact that I knew he was guiding me to safety, I experienced a queer comfort in his presence.

Beyond the shoulder of the mountain-cliff under which we had been travelling for some time, we came in sight of a solitary, welcome light, gleaming like a glow-worm in the vast hedgerow of growing darkness. . .

The way led downhill now, it was comparatively easy going, the snow was firmer and shallower. In a little while we heard dogs barking and the voice of a man standing at the door of the lonely stead of Ravensheim, an oasis in a desert of snow.

My guide turned and smiled and pointed.

After that I remembered no more until I opened my eyes and found myself lying on a couch of reindeer skins, covered with a huge bearskin, in the warm room with its rifles and skis and furs and the tall, black stove round which the family sat mending traps or weaving.

Sleepily, my mind blurred after twelve hours of struggle, I peered round through the pall of smoke. "Where is my friend who guided me over the fells?" I asked.

Thorkild shook his grizzled head uncomprehendingly.

"The man who came with me to the stead? Hasn't he come in?"

His blue eyes regarded me blankly. I thought perhaps he could not understand my broken Norwegian. He shook his head.

"I do not know what you are saying," he said. "You came alone and collapsed at the door. There was no man with you. You were unwise, you might have died out there on the fells. There was no man with you. There could not be. No man lives between here and Mariskog, nor the other way between here and Utrovatn."

"But the farmstead out on the fells?" I persisted. "Who is the man that lives there?"

"No man lives there. That is my *saeter*, my summer-farm. When July comes I and my family will drive the herds up there. But no one lives there until then. No. You are mistaken, I do not know what you mean. You came alone. No man was with you."

He frowned. He was puzzled, even worried.

I stared back at him woodenly, and as I lay there I remembered

that I had spoken to the stranger in English, and he had answered me: "I came to you as soon as I heard you call," yet . . . but it was no use. I was face to face with something as unfathomable as the white eternity of the snows, something I could not understand but could only dumbly wonder at. What it meant, I could not tell.

"Come," the voice of Thorkild roused me. "You must eat and sleep. The mountains have made you weak."

Mechanically I raised myself on one elbow to take the soup he was holding for me.

ALAN JENKINS.

THE LITERATURE OF PATRIOTISM.

IN such an hour as the present, when we are conscious that the history of our country, as indeed of the whole world, is gathering to a climax, it is good to turn aside for a space from the noisy bickering of the newspaper, calling attention to this or that "scandal," from the cynicism of the superior person and the sentimentalities of the pacifist, to read again the simple, moving appeal of the world's great patriotic poetry, to discover again a truth which can be so easily overlaid by the petty lies of propaganda and political intrigue. Not that we seek to hide from ourselves the sorry fact that the enthusiasms of the patriot and the devotion to duty of the ordinary man are likely to be abused by the merely selfish and sordid—

the rich whose minds are muddy, who consider honour bloody—as they have been abused from the beginning of time. But that does not make the patriot or the ordinary man wrong, or even foolish; it only deepens the evil in the hearts of those who can see in patriotic devotion nothing but a further weapon to be used for their own enrichment.

What is this quality of patriotism that can make a man sacrifice everything that he holds dear in defence of his country? When Ajax, near to death, thinks with longing of his native land:

O light, O sacred soil of Salamis,
My home, and the stablished hearth of my father's house,
And glorious Athens;

when Rupert Brooke seems to echo that cry:

A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
A body of England's breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home;

are these but unsubstantial visions, false dreams issuing from the gate of ivory? Or is our almost instinctive response to their appeal sure sign that the love of country sung by the greatest of poets is an emotion of abiding significance and real worth? And

if I thrill to the story of Leonidas, and find in the dozen words of the epitaph of Simonides—

Go, friend, remind the Spartans that we sleep
For ever here, obedient to their word;

—one of the imperishable glories of poetry, does it make any difference to me, if I am told that Leonidas was sacrificed to the incompetence of the authorities or the treachery of his allies?

In a world ruled by pure reason, it is true, there would be little occasion for valour. If man's foresight and preparedness were adequate to any emergency, the story of the human race would lack many an incident of desperate courage in some forlorn hope, whether on the battlefield or in the frozen wastes of the Antarctic or on the wide waters of the ocean. But who shall say that such incidents are not, in themselves, as much a proof of man's greatness as any achievement of the human spirit? And if such things must be, then the inspiration of patriotism, which is, after all, no more than an extension of man's love of home and familiar things, is an essential ingredient of the human drama. Your philosopher, of course, defines man as *animal rationale*; and many a time we are tempted to take that as meaning that man is little less than pure spirit, that the emotional urges which have their roots in the physical side of his nature are something of an accident, regrettable, if not tragic. But another description of man is that he is *animal politicum*, that he is ever to be found forming associations within the great organization of humankind; family first, and then clan, tribe, nation, all existing, it is true, for the benefit of the individual, and only valid in so far as they take account of the rights of the individual. Yet the individual himself has duties to other men, and it is only within the complex of organized society that those duties can be fulfilled.

And so it is good for man that he should develop a love of country and of all the homely human things that "country" means to him—or rather, that the instinctive love of these familiar things should be allowed to develop freely. In the Totalitarian State, no doubt, they are cultivated to excess, through that perversion which makes the State the end of man's existence, instead of being the soil in which he may best come to the full realization of his powers. But genuine patriotism, precisely because it is a human thing, is the sworn foe of tyranny of any kind—totalitarian or other—from the days of Harmodius down to our own. And it is worthy of notice that the most moving of patriotic writing is not that which is concerned with conquest, so much as that which sings the valour of men hard pressed by an apparently victorious foe.

Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them; naught shall make us rue,
If England to herself do rest but true

is not the song of men going out to fight a war of aggression.

And nowhere, perhaps, has this spirit been caught and expressed more perfectly than in the "Ballad of the White Horse." Chester-ton, with his love of the little things, who could see England as a

hundred little lands within one little land that lie;

who attacked the vices of English politicians and the ignominy of many an Imperialist with a scorn and fury unsurpassed, knew that the spirit that refused to allow the invader to enslave his Eng-land was a noble and God-given thing. At the beginning of his enterprise, Alfred could turn to Mary with a prayer for an assur-ance of victory:

When our last bow is broken, Queen,
And our last javelin cast,
Under some sad, green evening sky,
Holding a ruined cross on high,
Under warm westland grass to lie,
Shall we come home at last?

He knew all the sadness of battle, the misery of wounds and death, but he knew, too, its zest and glory—the zest and glory of the handful fighting a horde, matched, surely, to-day, in the exploits of a flight of Hurricanes or Spitfires shooting a score of Messer-schmitts out of the sky . . .

In such degree, by rule and rod,
The people of the peace of God,
Went roaring down to die.

And when the last arrow
Was fitted and was flown,
When the broken shield hung on the breast,
And the hopeless lance was laid in rest,
And the hopeless horn was blown,

The King looked up, and what he saw
Was a great light like death,
For Our Lady stood on the standards rent,
As lonely and as innocent,
As when between white walls she went
And the lilies of Nazareth. . .

For there must be the ultimate basis of all true patriotism, in the consciousness that, above all the storms and struggles of our mor-tality, God is watching; that our country is given to us, by Him, not merely to enjoy, but to defend; that in dereliction of civic duty is dereliction of duty to God; that Christianity, though it have par-don for the coward, has no room for cowardice.

T.C.

II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

- AMERICA: July 6, 1940. **Latin-American Items that need be Counted Up**, by John E. Kelly. [A rapid but illuminating glance at the South American countries, their attitude towards the United States, and the influence upon them of Britain and Germany.]
- CATHOLIC GAZETTE: August, 1940. **Advance!**, by Alexander Gits, S.J. [Contains an urgent plea for the Retreat Movement, and insists that every Catholic should, at some time, make a closed retreat.]
- CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT: July, 1940. **Mysterium Iniquitatis**, by Barbara Ward. [An eloquent exposé of the evil things against which we fight, to protect ourselves and others, and to defend our soul.]
- COMMONWEAL: July 5, 1940. **Obstacles to War**, by Philip Burnham. [An interesting account of the three classes of Americans—the totalitarians, isolationists and pacifists—who are most opposed to American co-operation with Great Britain.]
- DOWNSIDE REVIEW: July, 1940. **Prejudice in High Places**, by W. E. Campbell. [A study of anti-Catholic prejudice, concerned with the figures of John Hort, Charles Kingsley and Cardinal Newman.]
- DUBLIN REVIEW: July, 1940. **French Catholics and the Foreign Policy of France**, by Paul Vignaux. [A very timely analysis of the attitude of different sections of French Catholics to foreign problems during the last ten years.]
- HIBBERT JOURNAL: July, 1940. **The Nonconformist Conscience**, by Principal H. F. Lovell Cocks. [Has some valuable notes on the development of Nonconformity and on the strength and weakness of its religious outlook.]
- IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD: July, 1940. **Cardinal Bourne and Ireland**, by Denis Gwynn. [In a review of a recent biography Dr. Gwynn considers and rejects the charge that the late Cardinal was anti-Irish in sentiment.]
- REVISTA JAVERIANA: April, 1940. **Nonni, el último Escalda**, by Juan Alvarez, S.J. [A charming study of the Icelandic writer, Jon Svensson, widely known for his "Nonni" stories.]
- SPAIN: July 4, 1940. **The Mission of Spain**, by Christopher Hollis. [A sympathetic study of Spain's history and achievement, particularly in the New World, with the conclusion that the Spanish-American States, even though they have lost their schoolmaster, should always remember their lessons.]
- TABLET: July 20, 1940. **The Mexican Elections**. [Gives an excellent statement of the present situation in Mexico and of its possible consequences for the Church, the United States and Great Britain.]

REVIEWS

I—THE NEW WESTMINSTER HYMNAL¹

HYMN-SINGING holds a very humble place indeed in our Catholic worship. Catholics have something better to do than to sing hymns in the vernacular, and curiously enough hymns and hymn-singing flourish most where religion is furthest from the Church. Yet if the Church sanctions their use, even as extra-liturgical adjuncts, they should be of the best. There is no place for trash in the service of religion. And so we welcome any attempt to improve our English hymns. Much has been done since we emerged from the long silence of the Penal Times. It is a far cry from the sickly inanities of the "Crown of Jesus" to the forthright competence of the first Westminster Hymnal. Now we have a revision of the latter which is practically a new work. The first book of words, though by no means perfect, had established itself in the habits and traditions of our people. The lesson has to be learnt over again. Out of 250 of the original hymns and translations 200 have been jettisoned. This is not exactly revision but wholesale excision. Was this drastic expurgation necessary or expedient? Let it be said at once that the revised edition reaches a higher literary standard than its predecessor. The pious banalities familiar to us in our hymnals are fewer. Thought has taken the place of much of the former gush. Poetic expression is on a higher plane. But, on the other hand, the superior merit of a number of the *remplaçants* is by no means apparent, and we wonder why the changes were made. This is especially true of the translations. No doubt there was too much Caswall in the older book, and sometimes Caswall at his worst, *i.e.*, bald, angular, Latinized English often without particles. But at his best he could, and did, reach a high level of literary excellence, and above all, his translations were easy to grasp. We question whether the same can be said of many of the substitutes in the present book. We are apt to forget that our churches on Sunday evenings are not full of Chestertons and Hilaire Bellocs, nor even of the average intelligentia, but of simple folk who need simple ideas simply expressed. What, for instance, will the average churchgoer make of the translation of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*? It is a *tour de force*, if you will, an attempt to reproduce the original Latin rhyme-scheme, but the result is little more than a tortured jingle of unpleasant and unsingable

¹ *The New Westminster Hymnal*. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne. Pp. xvi, 452. Price, with music, 8s. 6d., 10s. 6d.; words only, 8d. 1s., 1s. 6d. 1940.

sounds. Caswall's translation had at least the merit of directness and simplicity. Caswall, if you like, was by no means innocent of false verbal accents. But the new substitutes are, if anything, worse offenders. Time and again the verbal accent conflicts with the musical accent, and refuses to fit into the framework of the tune. There is no excuse for these distressing defects which a little collaboration could have remedied.

Furthermore, why include translations by non-Catholics? Is the reason, perhaps, the intellectual poverty of our Catholics, or, perchance, a hankering on the part of some of us after our Anglican first loves? Much as we admire Neale's work and that of certain other Protestant translators, we must express our regret and concern at this departure from what, hitherto, has been an unwritten law, viz., that no hymn or translation by other than Catholic writers should be admitted into our Catholic hymnals. It was a wise and healthy safeguard against the intrusion of a non-Catholic atmosphere into our churches. Neale's "Jerusalem the Golden," that unctuous Protestant stand-by, which, by the way, is a paraphrase, a very long way after St. Bernard, and that other prime favourite of evensong, Ellerton's "O Strength and Stay," these and suchlike hymns are not likely to shed their Anglican aura within the precincts of a Catholic church. We say it is with regret and misgiving that we see the door opened to Protestant hymn-writers: it may not be so easy to shut it again.

To turn now to the music of the new hymnal. The musical editor of a Catholic hymn-book deserves all our sympathy. He is up against the dead weight of clerical and lay inertia. The policy of the line of least resistance has been, and still is, the bane of our Catholic hymn-singing. A dozen or so old favourites are worked to death. They are made to do duty for Sundays, Feast days, and every other occasion, year in and year out, until mere repetition has destroyed whatever mental or emotional grip they once possessed, and they become as little capable of stirring thought or feeling as would the chanting of a medieval *abracadabra*. The best tune in the world loses its appeal by constant repetition. The time, then, is long overdue when our jaded old favourites should be given a rest cure. The New Hymnal has quarantined a number of them in a special appendix. Their total exclusion, whatever their musical value, would be neither feasible nor perhaps desirable. Certain sentimental associations cling to them, and they will always be in demand. But that is no reason why they should be sung *ad nauseam* to the exclusion of all other hymns. Surely no great effort would be required to introduce a few hymns appropriate to the Church seasons, and occasionally a new tune in honour of our Lord and our Lady. These would serve a twofold purpose of fostering a liturgical sense, and on their return fresh each year, they would stimulate interest and infuse new life into our

moribund hymn-singing. And now ample provision has been made in the New Hymnal for all occasions.

But tastes differ. An editor's choice of tunes for popular use should be made irrespective of his own highbrow predilections, and uninfluenced by the possible criticism of faddists. After all, it is not so much the editor or the faddists who will sing these tunes, but the people. No one wants, of course, to return to the noisy fireworks of Moody and Sankey, nor, indeed, to the cloying chromaticisms of Tozer. We are well rid of them. But is there no *via media* between these extremes and the glacial archaism, the spineless placidity affected by some to-day as the hall-mark of good taste? A healthy adult quickly tires of saccharine tabloids. But, on the other hand, he cares not a jot for the gratuitous assumption of superior taste on the part of the medievalist or musical æsthete. Ancient dates, the old melody touch, the folk-song stunt, the free-rhythm craze, bar-less and modal affectations and all the rest of the antiquarian stock-in-trade, leave the average grown-up sublimely indifferent. All he wants is a stirring tune that will rouse his enthusiasm and move him to self-expression.

A *via media* has been found in such Anglican hymn-books as the "English Hymnal" and the "Songs of Praise." They abound in stirring tunes. But not so the New Westminster Hymnal. Sir Richard Terry knew a good tune and could write one, but he, like Caswall, has been placed, for the greater part, on the retired list. The substitutes, with a few notable exceptions, are frankly dull. There is a self-consciousness about the new book, an apparent determination to parade its diatonic purity; a touch of an inferiority complex which mistakes angularity for virility, and acidity for reserve, an unhealthy preoccupation not to be caught napping by the musical faddists. The result is an irreproachable book of reference, but not a hymn-book for the people. Its ability, taken as a whole, to stir the devotional pulse of a modern congregation we venture to doubt. It is a relief to turn to the Plain Chant section, which is well-nigh perfect.

J.D.

2—THE TESTIMONY OF A JEWISH CONVERT¹

DR. GOLDSTEIN introduces himself as a convert of Jewish parentage who has passed from Marx to Christ, and his detailed and very thorough review of Jewish belief and activity is intended to "further the knowledge of present-day Jewry among Christians, and the knowledge of orthodox Christianity among Jews." To the Jews he proclaims that the Christian Faith is the

¹ *Jewish Panorama*. By David Goldstein, LL.D. Catholic Campaigners for Christ, Astor Post Office, Boston, U.S.A. Pp. xvii, 394. Price, \$3.00. 1940.

true fulfilment of the hopes and promises of Israel; of Christians he would demand a greater sympathy with, and a fuller understanding of, the Jewish problems and position.

After granting that there exists, among the Jews themselves, an unutterable confusion as to what they really are, whether religious body or national community, he states his own position. The Jews are not, he asserts emphatically, a race: neither will he have them spoken of as a "nation," though that term obviously applied to the original Israelites. He protests energetically against Mr. Belloc's statement that the existence of the Jews "as a nation politically is as much a fact as the existence of coal and diamonds." In his eyes, neither Spinoza nor Heine deserves to be called a Jew: it is wrong to refer to Disraeli as a Jew, for "to call a baptized Israelite who believes in the Athanasian Creed a Jew is like calling a butterfly a caterpillar after it has passed from the larva to the pupal stage": Karl Marx is no Jew but simply an anti-Jew and an atheist. In other words, for Dr. Goldstein the name must be used in a religious sense or not at all. A Jew is one who still accepts, and lives according to the ancient tradition and Testament of Israel.

But here is the obvious difficulty. Dr. Goldstein informs us, on the authority of American Rabbis, that only 50,000 of the two million Jews in New York attend synagogue services, and that there are not more than 400,000 synagogue places for the four and a half million Jews in the United States. On a favourable estimate, scarcely 10 per cent. of American Jews practise their religion in any regular way. What of the remaining 90 per cent.? To great numbers of them Dr. Goldstein would refuse the name of Jew, more particularly to the so-called Reform or Liberal Jews whose beliefs are based on Darwin and Marx rather than the Bible and the Talmud. They are out of touch, he would insist, with the true religious current of Israel. That may be very true, but to the non-Jew they remain individuals of a special, even peculiar kind, who stand out from the European or American background by reason of very marked characteristics. The Jewish problem is not so much that of the religious Jews who form a respected and worthy minority, as that of the Jew who is no longer religious. In practice, after making his initial protest, Dr. Goldstein employs the term Jew in the ordinary sense to signify all those who are of Jewish stock or descent.

He has many hard things to say of Jews, but these he wisely draws from the statements of Jews themselves. He exposes the religious chaos in Jewish circles and points to the evil consequences of lax moral teaching among them. The decline of the birth-rate "was relatively greater among Jews than non-Jews between the years 1822—1932": and this decline has been in proportion to "their substitution of Spinoza, Mendelssohn and Marx

for the Orthodox Judaism of Moses" (pp. 84—85). "It is immorality more than persecution," he continues, "that threatens the life of Jewry": for this moral death "rabbinical advocacy of contraception is partly to blame" (p. 91). Freemasonry, he decides, was not a Hebrew institution, though he allows that its symbolism, rites and terminology "are largely of Jewish Old Testament and Cabala origin" (p. 97), and he mentions, incidentally, that from 30 to 50 per cent. of the Lodge membership in pre-Nazi Berlin, Frankfurt and Hamburg was definitely Jewish (p. 98). There are interesting sections which examine the Jewish influence upon Bolshevism and in the financial and economic world. His argument is always supported with such a wealth of statistics and quotation that it is not easy to remain unconvinced: he is clearly detached and objective and has no other cause to plead than that of the return of Israel to its old beliefs and to the consummation of these beliefs in Christianity and in Christ.

Another series of chapters analyses the various shades of thought and doctrine among modern Jews. Reform Judaism is frankly rationalistic. Its character is evident from the declaration of Rabbi Wise, engraved upon the walls of the Memorial Hall in New York. There it is described as "a religion without mysteries or miracles, rational and self-evident, eminently human, universal, liberal and progressive; in perfect harmony with modern sciences, criticism and philosophy, and in full sympathy with universal liberty, justice and charity." It might have been better and more briefly characterized as the purest rationalism. Among the more orthodox Jews there is a general disbelief in any personal Messiah, an acute sensitiveness to criticism, and a consciousness of being "other than" and "separate from" the non-Jew. It is argued that the Romans, and not the Jews, were responsible for the death of Christ, and that Christianity is very largely the creation of the Hellenizing Paul. "Every now and then someone comes forth from Jewry to propose publicly the acceptance of Christianity—but minus 'Paulinism,' minus the Divinity of Christ, minus the Gospels, minus ecclesiasticism, minus everything Christian, save the Sermon on the Mount" (p. 221). To-day the Talmud, with its offensive references to Christ and Christians, is little known among Jews. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century there has been a strong reaction against it in practising circles, and the Reform Jew is not a Talmudist in any serious sense.

Finally, we discover some admirable sections on Zionism and the whole question of Allied guarantees and Hebrew settlement. Modern Zionism, fashioned largely by Théodore Herzl in the eighteen-eighties, was not at all religious in character, and the orthodox Jews have never viewed the movement with much sympathy. Their one vision is that of the restoration of the Temple, and the modern Zionist is, almost without exception, Socialist in

inspiration and organization. Many of the Jewish colonies in Palestine are arranged on Communistic principles, especially those of the Kvutzah type. In few of them is a synagogue to be found. The majority of their members, it has been stated, "are at once socialist and either dogmatically atheistic or modestly agnostic," and "their definition of Judaism would inevitably be framed as national, racial, and to a degree cultural" (p. 263).

Dr. Goldstein's work is full of useful and interesting information and, though much of this concerns the United States more directly than Europe, it should help to give us a fuller insight into the character and problems of the Jews, as it will assist them, too, if only it be read without prejudice and with attention, to understand and draw nearer to the Church.

F.M.

SHORT NOTICES

CANON LAW.

Father Guidus Cocchi, C.M., has brought out a third edition of his "De Processibus," the fourth volume of the **Commentarium in Codicem Iuris Canonici ad Usus Scholarum** (Marietti: 20.00 l.). As the title suggests, the book is meant principally to serve as a textbook for students. Unfortunately, the writer tends to sacrifice depth of treatment to clarity of form. Many pages are devoted to what one may term the "headlining" of the canons of the Code relative to the subject-matter of the particular title under discussion. It can be questioned whether the utility of this method warrants the sacrifice of some 160 pages, especially as many of the "headlines" are printed vertically, thus occasioning a fair amount of discomfort in reading the book. The students, after all, will have the Code of Canon Law, containing all the relative canons, as their textbook. However, as this method is pursued in all the author's works, we must suppose the surrender of so much space has been justified. There are three Appendices, viz., two Instructions of the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments concerning Matrimonial Causes, and another Instruction of the same Congregation dealing with the procedure in causes for nullity of Ordination or of the obligations resulting therefrom. The work is clear in exposition, and while it does not add anything authoritative to what has already been written on Ecclesiastical Court Procedure, it will, beyond doubt, serve the *finis operis et operantis*, and guide harassed students through the driest and most difficult (in theory) Book of the Code.

Another work, smaller in bulk, on the same subject, is Father

Felix M. Cappello's *Praxis Processualis* (Marietti: 15.00 l.). This is not a theoretical treatment of Church Court Procedure, but an effort to indicate and explain the practice of the drawing up of the various necessary documents and instruments. Needless to say, the practice of ecclesiastical trials is best learned through actual practice in a court. Still, students of the Faculty of Canon Law in the Gregorian University, Rome, where Father Cappello is Professor, and all others whose duty it is to study a special theoretical course on this subject, owe a debt to the author for a most useful little work containing actual examples of every form of document used from the beginning of a trial to its conclusion.

PATRISTIC.

The fourth volume of the new edition and French version of St. Augustine's works, which is being prepared by the Bibliothèque Augustinienne, has for its French title *Dialogues Philosophiques: Problèmes Fondamentaux* (Desclée de Brouwer: 27.00 fr.), and contains the text and translation of the dialogues: *Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita* and *De Ordine*. These are the earliest extant works of Augustine, and are, in fact, a record, taken down by a secretary, of discussions held at Cassiciacum in the month of November, 386. *Contra Academicos*, the longest and most important of them, is so named because, in its second book, it examines the sceptical arguments put forward by the New Academy which, in Augustine's time, was not particularly "new," since it was founded in the third century B.C. But, after abandoning the tenets of Manichæism, Augustine seems to have been influenced for a time by the sceptical trend of this philosophical school. In a sense, therefore, this dialogue marks his final break with such sceptical thinking and his effort to find a basis for certitude and to assure himself that the human mind is capable of reaching objective and permanent truth. No positive doctrine is outlined, but the way is cleared, and obstacles are removed. The notion of truth, which is so strongly emphasized throughout Augustine's writings, is here considered and analysed. In intervals between the three books of *Contra Academicos* occurred the two discussions that have come down to us in the *De Beata Vita* and *De Ordine*. The former was held on Augustine's birthday, November 13, 386. In its preface he refers to it as the most religious of all his dialogues and, in spite of some Stoic and Neo-Platonic influence, its inspiration is very clearly Christian. The two books of *De Ordine*, which record the conversations of November 16th, 17th and 23rd, also show traces of Neo-Platonism. They treat of the problem of evil, though not explicitly of the difficulty of reconciling God's knowledge and man's free will. Augustine finds a temporary solution of the problem in the unity of all

creatures under God: God is not the author of evil and, if and where He allows it, it is for the good of the whole world. The text used by the new editors is that of the Benedictines of St. Maur (Paris, 1679—1700): actually, there is a newer and better text available for these three dialogues, that published at Vienna in 1922 in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The short introductions and the French version are supplied by Professor Régis Jolivet, the Dean of the Catholic Philosophical Faculty at Lyons, and a recognized authority on Greek and early Christian thought. Needless to add that the French version is admirably clear and accurate. Text and translation are on opposite pages, and, indeed, the whole production of the book is excellent. We hope sincerely that war conditions will not entirely suspend this great undertaking.

DEVOTIONAL.

Father Gerald Vann's recent book, *Of His Fullness* (B.O. & W.: 5s. n.), is intended for Religious and layfolk, or perhaps we should say, both for Christians bound by vows and living in community and for Christians living in "the world." It is a very concise book and a very wise one, and many of its chapters contain admirable matter for meditation. Father Vann explores the heights and depths of the moral and spiritual life without once losing his balance. His attitude is fiery, and his vision is detached. Whether dealing with facts or values he gives the same impression of objectivity; that is, he presents a vision of graduated reality. But a collection of essays or "considerations" is subject, by its very nature, to a certain dispersion, and so leaves but a slight abiding impression on the mind, which is a unity. One hopes, therefore, without disparaging the real value of this book, that the author is maturing a work of a different genre which shall be not only a statement but an expression of his particular point of view.

In a sub-title to his latest book, *The Light of the Anxious Heart* (B.O. & W.: 6s.), Father Aloysius Roche tells us that this new collection of short essays is intended to provide spiritual reflection for war time. The essays are easily written, and are just as easy to read, but they reveal considerable familiarity with the works of authors, both spiritual and lay. Throughout them there runs a note of cheerfulness and hope. "Patience," "Why all this Pain?", "On Keeping Calm," "Christian Optimism"—these are a few of the chapter headings which let us see the main trend and character of the book. Many people will find encouragement and help in these brief papers. But—to touch upon two minor points—did the Church ever canonize St. George (p. 94)? And should we admit that the Catacombs were "a piece of work born of cruelty and horror" (p. 113)? They were, surely, to begin

with, the burial places of the Christian dead, and only in a secondary sense, places of refuge.

From time to time books appear which seek to stimulate devotion to "The Forgotten Paraclete," and Father James F. Carroll, C.S.Sp., in **God the Holy Ghost** (Kenedy: \$2.50), approaches the subject both from the dogmatic and from the devotional standpoint. In the first part he discusses the nature of the Holy Ghost and the effects of the divine indwelling, with a specific examination of the individual gifts, of which the effects may be said to "deify man and society." They are, as it were, the basis of the sanctification of the individual and of the world. The Beatitudes, which he then proceeds to discuss, are regarded as gifts of the Holy Ghost acting upon sanctified souls. According to Father Carroll's scheme they produce the "fruits" of the Holy Ghost. Whether or not we accept this scheme, it serves the purpose of reducing to some order the rather bewildering array of elements—virtues and so forth—referred to the activities of the Holy Spirit. The whole is written in simple, non-technical language, and though the style is not always such as to appeal to English readers, there is much in the book that is of value.

NON-CATHOLIC.

The doctrine of the Atonement is a notoriously difficult subject, and we not unnaturally open **The Re-Creation of Man** (Dacre Press: 1s.) with some misgiving. Yet, apart from an occasional sentence at which the professional theologian might cavil—as in the thorny problem of the precise effect of Original Sin upon human nature—Mr. Parker has succeeded in producing a popular statement of the essentials of the subject in a style that is at once intelligible to the layman and in entire accord with Catholic thought. As he says himself, his work is little more than a commentary on the prayer *Deus, qui humanae substantiae dignitatem* (which, somewhat pathetically, is referred to the "Eucharistic Liturgy of the Western Church," instead of simply to the Mass). We believe that this little book will be read with profit by anyone who seeks to appreciate more deeply the wonders of God's dealings with fallen man.

Once again we welcome another *Signpost*, **The God-Man** (Dacre Press: 1s.), a well-planned and well-executed little outline of Christology. Marked by the orthodoxy which has characterized this series from the beginning, the book will be found a useful addition to any theological library however humble. It covers ground which is familiar enough to all students of the development of Christian doctrine, but, as he showed in a previous number, Mr. Mascall has a distinct ability for seizing upon the essentials of a subject and expressing them in terms intelligible to the layman. We should like to question only his assertion that "*Mark* is

generally believed to be the first of the Gospels." This, of course, is not the Catholic view.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Dr. Winnington-Ingram was appointed to the charge of Oxford House, Bethnal Green, in 1889; he retired from the Anglican See of London in 1939. An account of his **Fifty Years' Work in London** (Longmans: 10s. 6d. n.) opens with the double surprise which he experienced on making his first contact with the East End. "My first surprise about East London was its extreme respectability. The second was the little influence the official Church seemed to have in the district." Both observations would be even truer to-day. His work and enterprise as Head of Oxford House (1889—1897) and Bishop of Stepney (1897—1901) are described briefly, and then the book concerns itself with his activity, experiences, personal contacts and foreign travel since 1901. The last-named included five trips to Canada or the United States, a voyage round the world in which he touched at China and Japan, New Zealand and Australia, as well as visits to the Grand Fleet and the Armies in France and Salonika during the last war. There is plenty of incident, enlivened by not a few amusing anecdotes. The style is pleasant and friendly, and one of its nicest traits is the genuine appreciation expressed for the help and friendship of so many who have worked with him. If the book is a trifle self-centred, it is never solemn, and it is neither a panegyric nor an apologia. At times it may be scrappy, even disconnected; but it thoroughly merits reading, and there emerges from its pages the figure of a kindly, zealous, diplomatic churchman. Catholics will naturally resent some few of his assertions and the off-hand manner in which it is stated, for example, that "for centuries Rome acquired an undue influence over the Church of England, in spite of the protests of men like Bishop Grosseteste and others, but it was not until the Reformation that she was strong enough to throw off the yoke for ever" (p. 41). His discussion of the Marriage Problem is accommodating in the extreme; the principle is to "live and let live," for, after all, "life is greater than logic" (p. 46)—which is another way of saying that one must cut one's principles to the modern demand. He voices his amazement that many among his audience in America "imagined that the Church of England began in the reign of Henry VIII"—a belief that is of course universal outside this country. His reply to them was that he was the hundred and eighth Bishop of London, that all the bishops had lived at Fulham since the seventh century, "and that the frogs in the moat at Fulham and the jackdaws in the tower of Fulham parish church were laughing at the idea as they had seen Bishops there for 1,300 years" (p. 57). If frogs and jackdaws may be allowed the sense of humour with which Dr.

Winnington-Ingram credits them, we fear that he has quite missed the reason for their amusement.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In happier days Mr. Derek du Pré's charming volume, *When Poland Smiled* (Gee & Co. : 2s. 6d. n.), would have been a gracious present. To-day, when all the profits from its sale go to the Polish Relief Fund, it becomes an even more attractive and appropriate gift. The backbone of it is a journey, undertaken by its author equipped with accordion and rucksack, through some of the remoter districts of Poland and the Ukraine. There he held converse with the peasantry in gesture and through the interchange of music. The result is a delightful small book of personal impressions and friendly comment. But it is always a trifle more than the mere record of casual adventure. There are excellent photographs and quaint sketches to illustrate the text, and some of these are cunningly woven into the paper under the text itself. Miss Iris Greep contributes a chapter, with many melodies, on Ukrainian Folk Music. There is something about churches and songs, and even match-boxes, a coloured series of which portrays various local peasant costumes. Nor, though without any censure on his hosts, does he forget the Polish flea, which is sketched twice; and we are reminded of a description, written fifty years ago, of this savage monster "large and well-built, of a finer growth altogether than its Western brother," which moves "deliberately about its work . . . with a fine consciousness of what a healthy flea can do, given time, opportunity and the faculty of organization."

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE, LTD.,
Collected Poems by Alice Meynell.
Pp. xiv, 222. Price, 4s. n.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
The Monastic Order in England.
By Dom David Knowles. Pp. xix,
764. Price, 45s. n. *Italy in the Mak-*
ing. Vol. III. By G. F. H. and J.
Berkeley. Pp. xivii, 489. Price, 25s. n.
Boethius. By Helen M. Barrett. Pp.
ix, 180. Price, 7s. 6d. n.

DACRE PRESS, London.
The Church of God. By D. M.
MacKinnon. Pp. 105. Price, 1s.

FABER & FABER, LTD., London.

The Pope Speaks. By Charles
Rankin. Pp. 336. Price, 7s. 6d. n.

GILL & SON, Dublin.

Hidden Years. By "Lamplighter."
Pp. 25. Price, 9d.

HALL & ENGLISH, Birmingham.

New Hymns for the Infant School.
By a Sister of Notre Dame. Pp. 28.
Price, 6d.

KEYSWIFT, LTD., Edgware.

Tiring of Tongues. By J. R. Con-
stance. Pp. 54. Price, 3s. 3d.